JONATHAN SWIFT

The Drapier's Letters

and other works

1724-1725

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With an Introduction by
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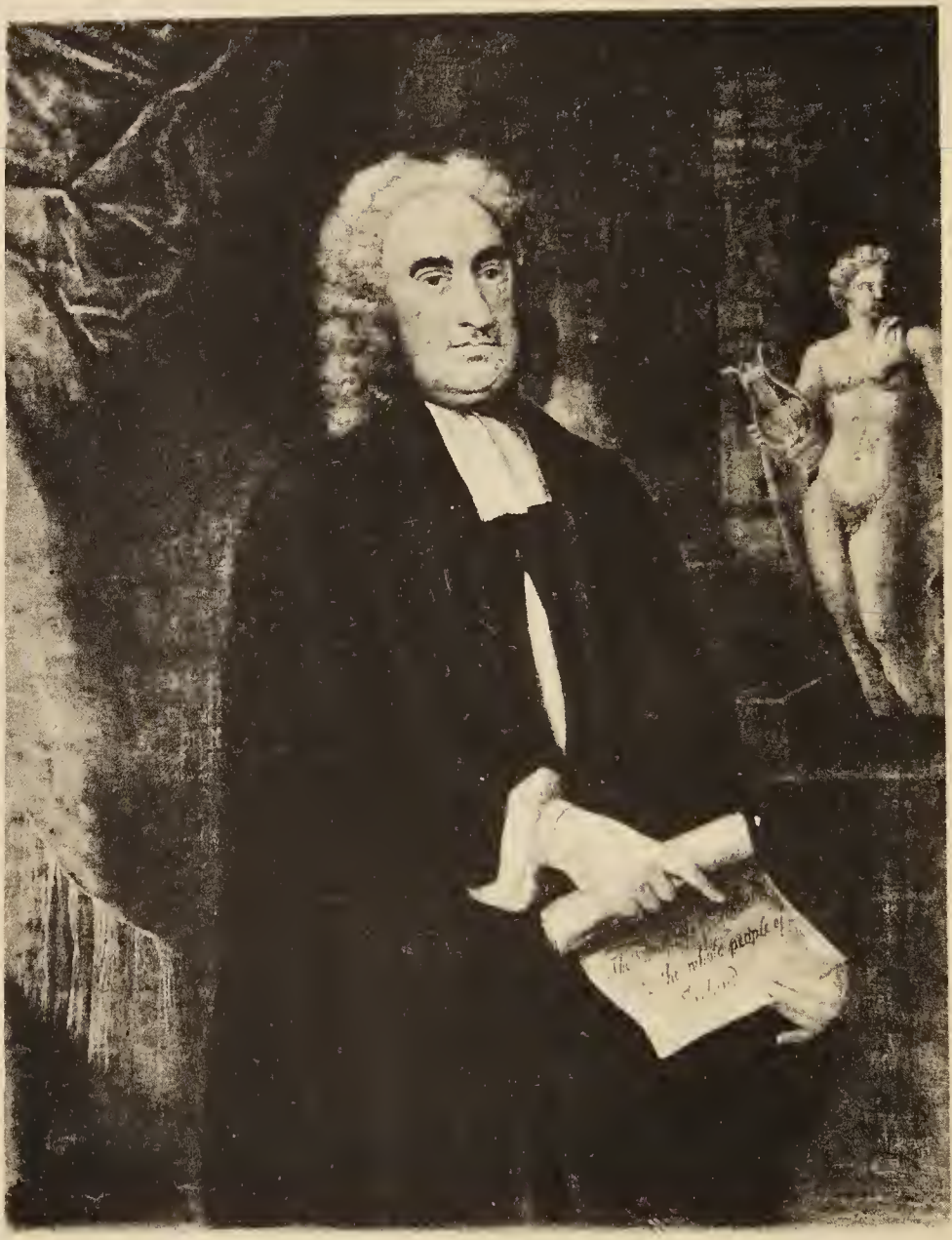

Jonathan Swift
Portrait by Francis Bindon in the National Gallery of Ireland

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The INTRODUCTION

THE *Drapier's Letters* may be considered merely as a section of Swift's work dealing with the affairs of Ireland, where he shows himself at his best as a journalist and propagandist and as the organizer of a successful boycott; but they may also be considered as that part of his work which is most closely connected with the writing of his *Travels*. There was a good deal in common between M.B., the linen draper whose shop was in St Francis Street, Dublin, and Lemuel Gulliver, the surgeon of Redriff. The Drapier had not, like Gulliver, been to Cambridge, but he had acquired some knowledge in the Latin tongue; and before coming to Dublin, he had, like Gulliver, served his apprenticeship in London, and set up in business there for himself. But their close relationship is due mainly to the fact that the travels of Gulliver were actually interrupted by the activities of the Drapier in Irish politics. Towards the end of January, 1724, Gulliver was approaching the end of his travels: 'I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island, where I shall not stay long, and my two last Journyes will be soon over.'[1] But actually two years or more passed before the travels were over, and in that time Gulliver was to learn much from the experience of the Dublin draper, just as the latter was able to profit from the benefits that Gulliver had obtained by reason of his stay among the Brobdingnagians and Houyhnhnms.

The *Drapier's Letters* and the other pieces contained in this volume were written between the beginning of the year 1724, and the summer of 1725, to encourage the people of Ireland in their opposition to a new copper coinage, authorized by a Patent,[2] which the Crown had granted to William Wood, an English manufacturer, on July 12, 1722, without any reference to the

[1] *Letters to Ford*, Oxford, 1935, p. 101.

[2] A copy of the Patent, together with all the official correspondence relating to the whole controversy concerning Wood's coinage, is among the Irish State Papers in the Public Record Office, No. 63, vols. 380–5.

Parliament of Ireland or the Commissioners of the Revenue in Dublin. It was further rumoured that Wood had obtained the Patent by giving a large bribe to the Duchess of Kendal,[1] and it was therefore naturally believed that the terms of the Patent would allow for a very large profit at the expense of the people of Ireland. Wood was empowered over a period of fourteen years to coin more than one hundred thousand pounds' worth of copper money, an amount estimated to be at least five times as much as was necessary; and no proper guarantees had been provided to prevent the smuggling of large quantities of debased money at the same time.

A general clamour had been raised against this coinage for some time before Swift entered the controversy. Official protests had been made by the Commissioners of the Revenue in Dublin as early as August, 1722. They referred to the apprehensions of the gentlemen, merchants and traders of Dublin that great mischiefs and inconveniences would be caused by the new coin, and they insisted that there was no real shortage of copper currency. Nevertheless Wood continued his preparations during the year 1723 and made private arrangements to ship quantities of the coins to Dublin. When the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Lieutenant, arrived in Dublin on August 13, 1723, he found that serious opposition had developed and that even the most faithful supporters of the English Ministry were unwilling to accept the coinage.

When the Irish Parliament met on September 9, 1723, the House of Commons immediately began an investigation of the Patent and asked for a report on the quantity of copper coin already imported into the country. Both Houses of Parliament then presented addresses[2] to the King in which they accused Wood of notorious fraud in the coinage which had already been

[1]William Coxe says in his *Memoirs of Walpole* (London, 1798), 'the fact was insidiously communicated by Carteret to Alan Brodrick, second son of Lord Midleton, during his visit to Hanover, transmitted by him to his friends in Dublin, and soon made public by various allusions of Swift.' ii, 426.

[2]See Appendix B.

sent over, and asked that directions should be given 'to prevent the fatal effects of uttering any farthings and halfpence pursuant to the said patent.' Replies were received from the King and read before Parliament on December 12, 1723, but it was not until the following March that the Lord Lieutenant was informed that an inquiry had been ordered, and was asked to send over documents and witnesses to support the Irish objections against the Patent. During the winter of 1723–4 several pamphlets[1] had been printed which were chiefly concerned with the dangers of fraud and the loss to Ireland. They had proposed instead that a convenient amount of copper money of the same quality as that current in England should be manufactured in Dublin.

At the beginning of 1724, eighteen months after the Patent had been granted, it must have seemed likely that nothing would be done officially to stop the coinage in spite of the protests which had been made and of the strong public opinion against it. There was one method left, a sort of passive resistance, an organized boycott of the coinage.

We cannot be certain that Swift was responsible for this policy; but we know that he supported it and determined to make it a success. It may be remembered also that this was the policy recommended by him in 1720 as a means of protecting Irish manufacturers against the competition of goods imported from England. He had then proposed 'the universal use of Irish manufacture, in clothes or furniture or houses, &c., utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England.' And now again, after protesting against the weakness of the Irish leaders in their dealings with the Lord Lieutenant, Swift set to work upon an active campaign for a complete national boycott of Wood's money. This campaign was started in February, 1723–4 when he wrote the first Drapier Letter, two thousand copies of which were distributed in the country during the following month.

I came just now from a Commission with the Chancellor ArchB^p^ Dublin &c. I spoke very severely to the knaves about

[1]For an account of all the other pamphlets concerning Wood's coinage, see *Drapier's Letters*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 352 ff.

the Farthings. I told them the Baseness and pusilanimity when they and others were sent for by the L[t] upon that Subject they all talked as much against the Thing as I. but People are more in fear than ever. I do not know whether I told you that I sent out a small Pamphlet under the Name of a Draper, laying the whole Vilany open, and advising People what to do; about 2000 of them have been dispersed by Gentlemen in severall Parts of the Country, but one can promise nothing from such Wretches as the Irish People. if this Destructive business brings you over, aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo.[1]

The *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* was printed in a very cheap form[2] by John Harding, whom Swift had employed a few years before when attacking the proposal to found a bank in Dublin, and who was now printing the Dublin *Weekly News-Letter*, which was to be used for publicity in the campaign against Wood. Swift claimed to have had no direct dealings with Harding and took great care to cover up all traces of his responsibility for the activities of the Drapier. Nevertheless it must have been widely known both in Dublin and in London that he was the author of the *Drapier's Letters*, and the leader of the campaign against Wood. For in the beginning of his *Letter to the Shopkeepers* after referring to the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, of which the authorship was now hardly a secret, he continues: 'However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.'[3] And in May, 1724, as soon as it was known that Lord

[1] *Letters to Ford*, p. 106.

[2] This Letter was first printed on a single sheet, small folio, four pages, in double columns, with the title printed across the top of the first page, and the imprint at the bottom of page 4: DUBLIN: Printed by *John Harding* in Molesworth's Court, 1723–4. I have seen only one copy, in the Goldsmiths' Library, University of London. It contains a number of misprints, and looks like an uncorrected proof copy; the first real edition may therefore be that in the small octavo form, more convenient for distribution through the post, which was adopted for all the other letters. In that form the title was enlarged, the errors corrected, and the two postscripts added.

[3] See below, p. 4.

Carteret would be the new Lord Lieutenant, Swift immediately wrote to him to report the violence of the opposition to Wood's coinage. With that letter he enclosed a copy of a paper written by Lord Abercorn and a copy of the first *Drapier Letter* which he describes as 'entitled to a weaver, and suited to the vulgar, but thought to be the work of a better man.' Carteret would scarcely have missed the full implication of the following sentence:

> I hope your Excellency will forgive an old humble servant, and one who always loved and esteemed you, for interfering in matters out of his province; which he would never have done, if many of the greatest persons here had not, by their importunity, drawn him out of his retirement to venture giving you a little trouble, in hopes to save their country from utter destruction; for which the memory of your government will be blessed by posterity.[1]

Before the end of the year, Swift had managed to give Carteret a lot of trouble in matters out of his province with the hope of saving the country from destruction.

In the first letter he tells 'the *Plain Story of the Fact*'; and then proposes a plan of action. He states the terms of the Patent with a hint that it had been obtained fraudulently and was intended to bring about the debasing of the whole currency. He then points out that according to English law the King cannot oblige anyone to accept money unless it is in gold or silver. Therefore it is no treason to refuse Wood's filthy trash.

Swift wrote this before the inquiry had been ordered in London, when it still looked as though the protests of the Irish Parliament would be entirely ignored. But in April reports appeared in the Irish newspapers that a Committee of the Council had met in London to consider the Addresses of the Irish Parliament and that orders had been given for Wood's coins to be tested. A comment on these reports appeared in Harding's paper for April 21, 1724, which can, I think, without hesitation be attributed to Swift. It states in his unmistakable language a few of the points which he was afterwards to elaborate in the Second Letter; and gives a contemptuous description of William

[1] *Corr.*, iii, 192–3.

Wood as an 'Obscure, Inconsiderable, Insignificant, designing Mechanick.'[1]

At the beginning of August Ireland got the first news of the Committee's report, from which it was clear that Wood now proposed to coin only forty thousand pounds' worth of copper, unless the exigencies of trade warranted more, and as a further concession, promised that no one should be obliged to receive more than fivepence halfpenny of his coinage at one payment. This dangerous compromise roused Swift to make his second appeal, which took the form of a *Letter to Mr. Harding*, in whose newspaper the news had appeared.[2] It was dated August 4, and was first published on August 6. After refusing contemptuously to accept Sir Isaac Newton's assay[3] of a few samples as any proof of the quality of the whole coinage, Swift proceeds to denounce the attitude of this insignificant mechanic, William Wood, who has had the impudence to make proposals, some of which are wholly illegal, and to urge rigorous action against any tradesmen who should offer to put the coins in circulation. He then draws up a declaration to be signed by the principal gentlemen of the kingdom, and sent to their tenants to encourage and set on their guard the inhabitants of the whole kingdom.

It was not until August 18 that printed copies of the whole report of the Committee[4] were received in Dublin. The following day a large part of it appeared in all the newspapers. Swift set himself at once to provide a full and detailed answer. This was a much more difficult undertaking especially if it was to be

[1]Cf. Letter II, p. 19. The full text of this paper is reprinted in Appendix A.

[2]I have not been able to find a copy of Harding's *Weekly News-Letter* for that date, but the report from the London papers is given in *The Post-Boy*, July 1, and in the *Dublin Gazette*, August 1, and part of it appears in four other Dublin papers. See the collection of Irish Newspapers, 7 vols. fol. in the Gilbert Collection, Dublin. The Report from the *Post-Boy* is reprinted in full in Appendix C.

[3]The report of Newton's Assay is reprinted below in Appendix C.

[4]The full Report of the Committee is reprinted below from the original copy containing the final corrections and revisions. See Appendix C.

presented in the simple style of the Drapier. To get over this difficulty he chooses a more limited audience, addressing this, his third letter, to the nobility and gentry of the Kingdom of Ireland. To them he can write more fully and discuss where necessary the terms of the Patent and the adequacy of the safeguard provided against fraud, though, as he admits, it seems sometimes a strange way of discoursing in an illiterate shopkeeper. But in the end he turns this to good account, by comparing himself to David, who could not move in the armour of Saul. He had been offered assistance and had received information from an eminent person, but 'rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a Sling and a Stone.*' It is an apt parallel, and leads him on to note the resemblance between Wood and Goliath, in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose. For

> he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over BRASS; and *he defied the Armies of the Living God. Goliath's* Conditions of Combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*: *If he prevail against us, then shall we be his Servants.* But if it happen that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other part of the Conditions, he shall never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any *honest* Man's Shop.[1]

Thus cleverly he divests the report of all authority, by treating it as a pamphlet intended to vindicate Wood against the aspersions which had been cast upon him, and by representing the whole controversy as a struggle between the Irish linendraper and the English hardwareman. He sets aside the evidence of the Irish witnesses who had testified before the Council, by vilifying their personal character;[2] he challenges the results of the official

[1] See below, p. 48.

[2] The earlier editions of this Letter contain a very violent attack upon the character of the second of these witnesses, John Browne of the Neale. But he appealed to Swift in a letter of April 4, 1728 to restore his reputation: 'But, alas, Sir, as long as your works subsist, wherever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain?' *Corr.*, iv, 27, and cf. *Corr.*, iv, 463–4. And when revising the text for Faulkner's edition of 1735, Swift remembered this, and deleted the passages relating to Browne. See below, pp. 202–3.

assay made in London, by disclosing the results of an examination of the coins after they had reached Ireland, which proved them to be at least one fourth below the real value.

Since the Report appeals constantly to precedents, Swift gives a careful account of the details of these earlier Patents, to prove that they afford no precedent for the methods adopted by Wood and his accomplices, who obtained this new Patent without any reference whatever to Ireland, without any of the safeguards provided against possible abuses, and with exorbitant payments from the Patentee to the Controller and to the Crown.

He then deals with the attempt made in the Report to coerce the officers of the Revenue and all the King's officers in Ireland to accept the coinage, meeting that with a reiteration of his determination to boycott it, and urging all those who are still free to do so to continue that kind of resistance. Finally he calls upon the gentry to draw up strong declarations against Wood's Halfpence, and reminds them that at the next Quarter Sessions they will have opportunity in every county of declaring against it with unanimity and zeal.[1]

Swift had probably himself furnished a good example, even before this letter was printed; for John Harding published on August 20 'a Declaration of the Grand Jury and the rest of the inhabitants of the Liberty of St Patrick's Dublin, with which they had attended the Dean, and desired that he would give orders to have it published'; whether he arranged the demonstration or not, he certainly provided the printer with the text of the paper. Numerous petitions and declarations followed immediately from all the most important towns in the country and from the corporations of tradesmen.[2] Individuals who were suspected of conniving with Wood put out advertisements to satisfy the public that they had never possessed any of his coin,

[1]Swift himself later drew attention to the success of his appeal in the note which he added in 1735; see below p. 49, and textual notes, p. 203.

[2]Declarations of the Butchers, the Brewers, the Flying-Stationers, and other advertisements were collected by Monck-Mason, and are now in the Forster Collection.

nor would receive it. Wood's effigy was carried in triumph through the streets, condemned to the gallows and finally burnt. This gave occasion for the skit which is reprinted here[1] as presumably by the Drapier himself. It was at any rate allowed by Swift to appear among the rest of his writings in the collected edition of 1735. Rumours of all kinds filled the newspapers. Sometimes it was reported that as a result of these declarations the Patent had been withdrawn, sometimes that large quantities of the coin had been shipped over, and that 'if the people of Ireland still persisted in their refusal of the brass coin, Walpole would make them swallow it in fireballs.'[2]

But Swift realized that the main struggle was yet to come. He had been in correspondence with Lord Carteret, an old friend of his, since the time it was first known that he had been appointed to succeed Grafton as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Early in September he had given him fair warning: 'My Lord, we are here preparing for your reception, and for a quiet session under your government; but whether you approve the manner I can only guess. It is by universal declarations against Wood's coin.'[3] Carteret did not arrive in Dublin until October 22, and it was then generally understood that his main duty was to try and arrange to introduce at least a limited amount of Wood's coin. Swift did not wait to see what he would do. He prepared his most devastating attack, a *Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*, got it printed and ready for distribution on the very day that Carteret arrived.

It was prompted in the first place by the current rumours in the newspapers, which were weakening the strength of the opposition to Wood, by arousing fears of the immediate consequences. The Irish people had been charged with 'disputing the King's Prerogative' and had been warned that Carteret was coming over to settle the whole business. Swift scoffs at the idea that a Lord Lieutenant would be sent over at an unusual time, merely to put a hundred thousand pounds into the pockets

[1] See below, p. 143.
[2] From *The Flying-Post*, Dublin, October 12, 1724.
[3] *Corr.*, iii, 214.

of a sharper, and points out that in any case there are no employments available for Irishmen, which could be used to buy their support. Lord Carteret is moreover reported to be a gentleman of such great accomplishments and such an admirable spirit that the usual methods of managing people in office which had been employed in corrupt times need not be feared from him. In describing the details of such management Swift had in mind the administration of Lord Wharton, which he had so violently exposed in his *Short Character*, written in 1711.[1]

But the most dangerous part of the Fourth Letter was the reply to the slander, which Swift attributes to Wood, that Ireland desired to shake off its dependence on the crown of England. Swift repeats the arguments of Molineux[2] that the people of Ireland have equal rights with the people of England under the same King but insists that Ireland is in no sense a depending kingdom, and he adds: 'I am so far from *depending* upon the People of England, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my Sovereign (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first Command from his Majesty to take Arms against them.'[3] Here Swift was challenging the recent act for securing the political dependency of Ireland, in which the position of the Kingdom of Ireland was defined as 'subordinate and dependent.'[4]

In the rest of the letter he replies to the arguments which were being printed in England in favour of Wood, and makes an ironical attack on Walpole, as the real enemy of Ireland. He

[1] See Vol. III of this edition, p. 175.

[2] Molyneux, W., *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated*, Dublin, 1698.

[3] See below, p. 62.

[4] 'That the said kingdom of Ireland, hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of *Great Britain*, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of *Great Britain* in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the Kingdom and people of Ireland.' 6 Geo. I, c.5, *Statutes at Large*, Cambridge, 1765, xiv, 204.

adopts a manner of polite, almost innocent urbanity: 'I must beg Leave, in all Humility to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiscretion*, by causing so Honourable a Name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often, and in such a Manner, upon his Occasion.'[1] He then quotes some of the wildest phrases of the newspapers reporting that 'he will cram his brass down our throats or make us eat our brogues,' and suggests that these reports must be spurious, as the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit.

It was a challenge that Carteret could not afford to overlook. At a meeting of the Privy Council, called on October 27, he drew attention to the dangerous views expressed by the Drapier, who seemed to him to be using the popular feeling against Wood's coinage to rouse the people of Ireland to shake off their dependency upon England. He insisted that the printer of the Fourth Letter should be prosecuted, and that a reward should be offered to discover the author. The members of the Privy Council, who had themselves recently signed a Declaration against Wood's coinage, were afraid of the effect of any action which might seem to be in favour of Wood. The Proclamation[2] was therefore finally directed only against certain passages in the Letter described as 'seditious and scandalous', and some of the Privy Council, including the Archbishop of Dublin, refused to sign it.

It was a curious situation. Swift had been ill during the summer, and was suffering from one of his fits of deafness. On October 24, he wrote to Tickell, Carteret's secretary, to excuse himself for being unable to call at the Castle, and as late as December he refers in his letters to the fact that he had not yet seen the Lord Lieutenant, and had only received from him 'one cold compliment', which may have been an official acknowledgment of his letter.[3] That Swift was generally believed to be the Drapier is shown from the following passage of a private letter from Tickell written on November 1:

> My Lord Lieutenant harangued the Council so effectually upon the subject of Swift's Pamphlet, that every member

[1] See below, p. 67. [2] See Appendix C. [3] *Corr.*, iii, 219 & 226.

present, except the Abp of Dublin, signed the Order for persecuting the Author and only the Abp, the Bp of Elphin, Dr Coghill, who by his posts is linked to the Clergy, and Lord Allen, declined to subscribe the proclamation. The printer is run away, the Hawkers dare not cry it, and the Author is now writing an Answer against himself. The Spirit of Sedition is certainly damped but by no means extinguished. The Declaration against the Half pence, which was signed by some Privy Councillors, and many men of figure, is now printed in a large sheet to be hung up in frames; great endeavours are using to get Dr Swift the freedom of the City in a Gold-box, and a very dull but virulent paper of verses is handed about, ending with this line,

And give Him Freedom, while yourselves are free which it seems is to be understood of this Freedom of the City. The inclosed quotation out of Scripture has been got by rote, by men, women, and children, and, I do assure you, takes wonderfully. . . .[1]

It is equally clear also from the official reports of the Lord Lieutenant to London that Swift was certainly regarded as the author of the Drapier's Letters; and it seems to have been expected that he would challenge the power of the authorities by defending the Drapier in a letter signed by himself. Lord Carteret reports a conversation he had had with the Archbishop of Dublin, in which he had said that 'he believed in the present juncture the author might safely put himself upon his country, and stand his trial, since it was generally understood that his crime was writing against the halfpence.' Carteret plainly says that he had determined to order his arrest, and that it would be necessary for the government to act vigorously. He adds: ''Tis the general opinion here that Doctor Swift is the author of the pamphlet, and

[1]The enclosed quotation was as follows: 'And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.' (1 Sam. xiv: 45.) This is contained with the original letter in S.P. 63, vol. 384.

yet nobody thinks it can be proved upon him; tho' many believe he will be spirited up to own it.'[1]

There can be no doubt that at the very moment the Proclamation against the Drapier came out, Swift was engaged in writing in his own name, a Letter to Lord Midleton, the Chancellor. This was what has sometimes been called the Sixth Letter.[2] Swift was probably advised not to print it, and it did not appear until he was collecting his writings on Irish affairs for the collected edition of his works ten years later. Carteret's remarks to the Archbishop may have convinced Swift that it would not be safe to challenge the government then. Later, when it was printed, he gave only this explanation: 'I can tell no other reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people in power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet.'[3] This letter is dated October 26, but parts of it must certainly have been written later as it quotes a phrase from the Proclamation, which was dated October 27, and refers also to the action of Whitshed in discharging the Grand Jury on November 21. It is mainly concerned to justify the Drapier and repeat all his arguments against Wood; and above all to show that even the Fourth Letter was quite unexceptionable, and directed solely against Wood and his coin; and that the Proclamation refers only to certain passages which the Government was pleased to dislike, and does not mean that those who signed it had changed their opinion about Wood's coinage.

Harding the printer had been taken into custody on November 7; he persisted in concealing the author, and was encouraged to stand the prosecution himself, in the belief that the Grand Jury would not find the Bill against him. On November 11, Swift wrote *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury*,[4] and copies were distributed through the post by November 14. The main point of it was to convince the Jury that it was necessary for them to

[1]Letter from Lord Carteret to the Duke of Newcastle, October 31, 1724. Quoted from the original in S.P. 63, vol. 384.

[2]See below, p. 99. [3]See below, p. 96. [4]See below, p. 69.

dismiss the case against the printer, or else the public would think that they were really in favour of Wood's coin; and to remind them that, being merchants and shopkeepers, they could not lose anything by such a course.

The Lord Lieutenant immediately sent a copy of this paper to the Attorney General, with directions that it should be brought before the Council of the King's Bench, and the Grand Jury urged to make a presentment of this insolent libel.[1] It was on this occasion, on November 21, when the Grand Jury refused to do this, that Whitshed the Lord Chief Justice discharged them, and ordered a new jury. Swift may well have been there in court, to strengthen by his very presence the resolution of the jurymen; for he says that on that very day he had noticed the motto on Whitshed's coach. 'I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be *Libertas & natale Solum*; at the very point of Time when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both.'[2] Swift expressed his feelings in the following lines:

Libertas & natale Solum;
Fine Words; I wonder where you stole 'um.
Could nothing but thy chief Reproach,
Serve for a Motto on thy Coach?
But, let me now the Words translate:
Natale Solum: My Estate,
My dear Estate, how well I love it;
My Tenants, if you doubt, will prove it:

[1]It is strange that Swift allowed a misleading note to be inserted between *Seasonable Advice* and *An Extract*. See below, p. 73. This note suggests that the Grand Jury would not find the Bill against Harding, as a result of the paper which had been conveyed to them the night before. But, in fact, the Grand Jury were urged on November 21 by the Solicitor and Attorney General and the three judges of the King's Bench to make a presentment of *Seasonable Advice*, which had been distributed already on November 14. Details are given in the letter from Lord Carteret to the Duke of Newcastle, November 22, and in a letter from Dr Coghill, who was present, to Edward Southwell, November 24. See S.P. 63, vol. 385 & B.M. *Add. MSS.* 21122.

[2]See below, pp. 100–1.

They swear I am so kind and good,
I hug them till I squeeze their Blood.

Libertas bears a large Import;
First; how to swagger in a Court;
And, secondly, to shew my Fury
Against an uncomplying Jury:
And, Thirdly; 'tis a new Invention
To favour *Wood* and keep my Pension:
And, Fourthly; 'tis to play an odd Trick,
Get the Great Seal, and turn out *Brod'rick*.
And, Fifthly; you know whom I mean,
To humble that vexatious Dean.
And, Sixthly; for my Soul, to barter it
For Fifty Times its Worth, to *Carteret*.

Now, since your Motto thus you construe,
I must confess you've spoken once true.
Libertas & natale Solum;
You had good Reason when you stole 'um.

Swift also caused to be printed and circulated throughout the town copies of *An Extract* from a book, giving the debates of the English House of Commons in 1680,[1] in which a resolution was passed declaring that the discharging a Grand Jury before the end of the Term was arbitrary and illegal. He further prepared a reply for the new Grand Jury, when it met on the last day of the Law Term, November 28, and was urged by Whitshed to do what the former Jury had refused to do. This was a vigorous declaration against Wood's coin, in the form of a presentment[2]—not of the libels which were before them—but of all such persons who should endeavour to impose the same halfpence on the people of Ireland, and a grateful acknowledgment of the services of all those patriots who have been zealous against Wood.

At this point in the struggle Swift had very decisively over-

[1]See below, p. 73. [2]See below, p. 75.

come the first attempt of the government to put a stop to the boycott he had organized, and had demonstrated the unity and strength of the opposition to the coinage. An attempt was made to divide this opposition on party lines, to suggest that the matter was being used by the Tories and Papists to foment sedition in Ireland and to bring in the Pretender. Now the arbitrary action of Whitshed gave his opponents a splendid chance to turn round upon him, and to appeal to the leading Whigs in Ireland to condemn such methods as this. Swift had not hesitated to suggest that Whitshed was trying to trick Midleton out of the Chancellorship. And though he had put aside the letter he had addressed to Midleton, he proceeded instead to address Lord Molesworth, a Whig, who, though living in retirement, was still known as one who by his writings had gained a reputation of being dangerously liberal in his views.

This was the Drapier's Fifth Letter, dated December 14, with a preface to Harding the printer, warning him to have it carefully read by some notable lawyer, to make certain that it contained nothing treasonable, and describing it as a humble apology for his former pamphlets, with little mention of Wood, as he had been already sufficiently dealt with.

It is written with less urgency than the former letters, with confidence and with humour; it is written by one who knows that his cause is almost won. He had drawn upon himself the displeasure of the government and had been hunted by the Lord Chief Justice; but he is convinced that he has done nothing that he will be charged with at the day of Judgment. He is able to talk about his recent activities in the terms of his trade, playfully and lightly, to display his wit rather than to pursue his enemies further.[1] He had unfortunately spent too much time conversing with the writings of certain dangerous writers, of whom Lord Molesworth was one, who talk of Liberty as a blessing; nevertheless his boldest sayings would have been accepted in England as the merest commonplaces. However, he is ready to apologize for any inadvertencies he may have been guilty of, in order to avoid weakening the opposition against Wood. He is weary of

[1]See below, pp. 82 ff.

his office as a writer, and would gladly leave it to the makers of songs and ballads to gather up the dregs of the controversy.

The ballad-makers,[1] including Swift himself, had been very active in attacking Whitshed and Wood, and in praising Archbishop King and the Drapier. Swift had also more weighty support. A great many well-written tracts in prose had appeared in the course of the year, some of which have from time to time been wrongly attributed to the Drapier.[2] It is not unlikely that Swift may have had a hand in some of them, or at least may have helped to get them printed. In December and January, just before and after the appearance of the Letter to Lord Molesworth, two Letters, signed N.N.,[3] were printed in the form of protests addressed to Whitshed against his high-handed and illegal action, with the aim of convincing all liberal-minded persons of the absurdity of the condemnation of the Drapier's Fourth Letter and of the attempt to prove him a Tory and a Jacobite.

In the meantime Carteret had not hesitated to recommend to the English Government that the Patent should be cancelled; and even Archbishop Boulter, the new Primate of Ireland, who had recently arrived from England, wrote in January that 'while the fear of these halfpence hangs over this nation it is impossible to have things easy here,' and proposed 'some reasonable amends to Mr. Wood, in order to his resigning the Patent.'[4] It was not until about this time, the middle of January, that Swift at last went to see the Lord Lieutenant. It naturally produced much comment. In a letter to Knightley Chetwode, he says: 'the town has a thousand foolish stories of what passed between us; which indeed was nothing but old friendship without a word of politics.'[5] And afterwards he remained on very good terms with Lord Carteret and his family so long as they were in Ireland.

Parliament was prorogued until August 6, and Carteret evi-

[1] See *Poems*, pp. 329 ff.

[2] See *Drapier's Letters*, Oxford, 1935, Appendix II.

[3] Reprinted in full below, see Appendix A.

[4] *Letters of Hugh Boulter*, Dublin, 1770, p. 10.

[5] *Corr.*, iii, 228. Cf. also letter from Swift to Carteret, April 17, 1725, p. 234.

dently hoped before the Houses met to have news of some expedient for putting an end to the unhappy affair of Wood's Patent.

Swift was still doubtful what would happen, and while he was away in the country during the summer, he set to work to prepare *An humble Address to both Houses of Parliament*, to be ready for their meeting in August. He refers to it first in a letter to Sheridan, dated June 29, 1725: 'Pray remember to leave the pamphlet with Worrall, and give him directions, unless you have settled it already some other way. You know it must come out just when Parliament meets.'[1]

This last letter from the Drapier was not concerned only with the matter of the coinage. It drew attention to the many grievances of Ireland, and urged Parliament not to grant supplies, until these grievances had been first dealt with. It warned them against the danger of listening to those 'compounders' who were going about and urging the bad consequences that might follow if they continued to express their resentment against Wood. It goes over the main course of the struggle, the Report of the Council in London, the Proclamation against the Drapier, the action of the Lord Chief Justice, and appeals again to the administration whether it did not intend something for the benefit of Ireland, and not that 'such a Kingdom should be *wholly undone*, *destroyed*, *sunk*, *depopulated*, made the Scene of *Misery* and *Desolation*, for the Sake of *William Wood*?'[2]

He ends his appeal by pointing out what immense profit England receives from Ireland, and on the other hand the numerous grievances by which the people of Ireland are altogether losers.

When Parliament was prorogued again until September 7, Swift held back his pamphlet; and towards the end of August he received an anonymous letter, telling him 'that he had got a sop to hold his tongue.' But he was occupied with the final arrangements, about which he wrote to Worrall on August 27. He had been urged to make his appeal by those who feared that they would prove 'slaves as usual and led where the government

[1] *Corr.*, iii, 247. [2] See below, p. 126.

pleases.' His statement gives a very clear indication of the method that he employed in preparing and publishing his letters:

> I gave Jack Grattan the papers corrected, and I think half spoiled, by the cowardly caution of him and others. He promised to transcribe them time enough, and my desire is they may be ready to be published upon the first day the Parliament meets. I hope you will contrive it among you, that it may be sent unknown, as usual, to some printer, with proper directions.[1]

This suggests that most of the letters were well edited by his friends before they were printed; it is a pity that we have no record of what Swift originally wrote. If as he says these letters were half-spoiled as they appeared in their first printed form, it is a further justification for printing in this edition from the text which Swift himself revised for the collected edition when restraint was no longer necessary, where he does occasionally allow himself the satisfaction of removing a cautious statement, and replacing it by something closer to his thought.[2]

Just as Swift was engaged in these last preparations for the publication of his letter, a special courier had arrived in Dublin, bringing word to the Lord Lieutenant that the Patent had been surrendered.

> His Majesty having obtained of Mr Wood, a Surrender of his Grant of the Coynage of Copper Money for Ireland, the Lords Justices have, with all possible expedition, taken care to have it pass the proper legal Forms, and have ordered me to Transmit to your Excellency an Exemplification of that Surrender, which you will receive herewith. Their Excellencies thought so very important a Dispatch, & one may say, so acceptable a present to the Kingdom of Ireland,—should not be sent by a Common Messenger, but have charged Mr

[1] *Corr.*, iii, 264.

[2] There are some good examples in the textual notes to Letter V, indicating the vigorous changes which Swift introduced into the text, when there was no longer any danger of getting the printer into trouble. See below, pp. 204–5.

Edgecomb with it, who will have the honour to deliver it to you.

Their Excellencies have also commanded me to signify their Directions, that mention be made of this Surrender in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the ensuing Sessions of the Parliament of Ireland, and your Excellency's great abilitys leave them no room to doubt, but this extraordinary Instance of His Majesty's Condescension to the Desires and Petitions of His People of Ireland, will be set before them in such a Light, as may give them a due sence of His Majesty's very great Goodness to them, and dispose them to make suitable returns of Duty and Gratitude.[1]

The Council met on August 26, and proclaimed the news amid great rejoicings, and celebrations of the victory of the Drapier.

Swift himself got the news on August 31, and wrote immediately to Worrall to stop publication:

Since Wood's patent is cancelled, it will by no means be convenient to have the paper printed, as I suppose you, and Jack Grattan, and Sheridan will agree; therefore, if it be with the printer, I would have it taken back, and the press broke, and let her be satisfied. The work is done, and there is no more need of the Drapier.[2]

The administration and its friends were relieved and delighted to have a satisfactory end put to their troubles. They were almost ecstatic in their expressions of gratefulness for this extraordinary instance of favour and indulgence from the Crown. But the leaders of the triumphant party, who had succeeded in their fight against the coinage, were inclined rather to stress the wisdom and justice which had at last been granted to them as a result of their efforts.

When Parliament met on September 21, the Lord Lieutenant was able to include in his speech the formal announcement of the full surrender of Wood's Patent, and to ask that suitable acknow-

[1]Letter to Lord Carteret from the Lords Justices of England, August 19, 1725. S.P. 63, vol. 386.

[2]*Corr.*, iii, 266.

ledgment should be made of his Majesty's gracious favour.[1] The House of Commons drew up an Address of thanks which was unanimously accepted. But the House of Lords indulged in a little comedy, by debating for two or three days the exact form which the address of thanks should take. The Archbishop of Dublin proposed to enlarge the compliment to his Majesty by expressing their grateful sense not only of his 'royal favour and condescension,' but also of his 'great Wisdom.'[2] This amendment was carried, whereupon—to quote the account of one who was present—the Archbishop could not contain himself, but

> out of the fullnesse of his heart, he said to the Primate, who sat next him, that he had clinched the matter, for if it was wisdom to gett the Patent surrendred, it must have been the contrary to have granted it, this gave the alarm, and upon the debate of the Adresse, after it was brought into the house, it was urged that this word was moved as an affront either to his Majesty or his ministers, and therefore would be improper and indecent to use it in an adresse of thanks for the greatest act of favour that cou'd be done us, on the other side it was urged that no body could deny his Majesties wisdom in all his actions, that the word was inserted by order of the House and could not be struck out, and that nothing could be a greater affront than putting a negative on that word, after three days debate, the word was left out 12 affirmatives, 21 negatives. Archbp of Dublin and Ld Midleton were those who most strongly insisted for the word, and the Archbp went so far as to enter his protest, but in this he was single, some few days after a paper was published, and by order of the Lords burned by the common hangman, this paper was talked off att my Ld Mayor's publick dinner, where the Archbp was, and it was said it was an insolent impudent paper, but says the Archbp, it has the misfortune to be true, my Ld Lieut replyed sure your Grace does not think I whispered as that paper says No indeed my Lord, says the Archbp, for you spoke out

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland*, Dublin, 1796, iii, 398.
[2] *Journals of the House of Lords of Ireland*, Dublin, 1779, ii, 809.

aloud; my Ld Lieut fired a little att this, but passed it by with a jest.[1]

Swift himself could hardly have provided a more fitting and amusing finish to the episode of Wood's halfpence. He had indeed received throughout the campaign loyal and strenuous support from the Archbishop, who, by reason of his place on the Council and in the House of Lords, as well as by his influence in Dublin, had been able to give most effective assistance, which Swift had recognized and acknowledged. It seems unlikely that he would not have taken some notice of this incident, and it was of course immediately suspected that Swift had written the paper referred to in the above letter, called *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate.*

Minerva has vow'd since the bishops do slight her,
Shou'd the reverend peers by chance ere invite her,
She's resolv'd never more to be known by the Mitre.

The temporal lords, who voted against her,
She frankly forgives, as not having incens'd her,
For securing their pensions is best proof of their sense, Sir.

At first putting the question, their lordship's were for't,
And his Grace's wise notion did bravely support,
Till positive orders was whisper'd from Court.

So this they allege in their justification,
They vote for their bread in undoing the nation,
And the first law of nature is self-preservation.

But Swift was not in Dublin at this time, and now that the danger was over he seems to have been glad to keep away from the excitement of the Drapier's triumph. 'That Writer', says Bishop Nicolson in a letter of October 12, 'is, at present, in great Repute; the Darling of the populace; His Image and Superscrip-

[1]Letter from Dr Coghill to Edward Southwell, October 9, 1725. B.M. *Add. MSS.* 9713.

tion on a great many Sign-Posts in this City and other great Towns; . . . '[1]

Swift had now other things in mind. His thoughts were turning towards his friends in England, whom he was planning to visit the following spring. In preparation for that visit, he had been employing his time 'besides ditching, in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing [his] Travels, in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press, when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears.'[2]

But he could never again abandon altogether the rôle of the Drapier, and from time to time he continued to exercise his powerful influence in Irish affairs, teaching rulers their duties, farmers and weavers their business, electors how to vote, and ready, whenever it should be necessary, to champion the cause of the people of Ireland.

[1]Letter to Archbishop Wake. Christ Church Library, Oxford. *Wake MSS.*, vol. ccxlvii.

[2]*Corr.*, iii, 276.

Exegi Monumentum Ære perennius. Hor.

Portrait of Swift as the Drapier from Faulkner's edition Volume IV, *Dublin*, 1735

A

LETTER

TO THE

Shop-Keepers, Tradeſmen, Farmers,
and *Common-People* of *IRELAND,*

Concerning the

Braſs Half-Pence

Coined by

Mr. Woods,

WITH

A DESIGN to have them Paſs in this

KINGDOM.

Wherein is ſhewn the Power of the ſaid PATENT, the Value of the HALF-PENCE, and how far every Perſon may be oblig'd to take the ſame in Payments, and how to behave in Caſe ſuch an Attempt ſhou'd be made by WOODS or any other Perſon.

[Very Proper to be kept in every FAMILY.]

By M. B. Drapier.

Dublin : Printed by *J. Harding* in *Moleſworth's-Court.*

To the *Tradesmen, Shop-Keepers, Farmers,* and *Country-People* in General, of the Kingdom of *IRELAND.*

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and *Fellow-Subjects.*

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to your selves, and your Children; your *Bread* and *Cloathing*, and every common Necessary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the Printer to sell it at the lowest Rate.

IT is a great Fault among you, that when a Person writes with no other Intention than *to do you Good, you will not be at the Pains to read his Advices*: One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing apiece. It is your Folly, that you have no common or general Interest in your View, not even the Wisest among you; neither do you know or enquire, or care who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

ABOUT four Years ago, a little Book was written to advise all People to wear the * *Manufactures of this our own Dear Country*: It had no other Design, said nothing against the *King* or *Parliament*, or *any* Person whatsoever, yet the POOR PRINTER was prosecuted two Years, with the utmost Violence; and even some WEAVERS themselves, for whose Sake it was written, being upon the JURY, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you Good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his Face for his Pains; and when he must expect only *Danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his Ruin.

* Vide *one of the preceding Pamphlets, entitled, A Proposal for the Use of* Irish *Manufactures.*

HOWEVER, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave your selves as you ought.

I WILL therefore first tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you, how you ought to act in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

THE Fact is thus; It having been many Years since COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGS were last Coined in this *Kingdom*, they have been for some Time very scarce, and many *Counterfeits* passed about under the Name of RAPS: Several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to *Coin New Ones*, as in former Times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOOD, *a mean ordinary Man, a Hard-Ware Dealer*, procured a *Patent* under His MAJESTY'S BROAD SEAL, to coin 108000 *l.* in *Copper* for this *Kingdom*; which Patent however did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the HALF-PENCE and FARTHINGS in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth: And if you should beat them to Pieces, and sell them to the *Brazier*, you would not lose much above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. WOOD made his HALF-PENCE of such *Base Metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *Brazier* would hardly give you above a *Penny* of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; so that this sum of 108000 *l.* in good Gold and Silver, must be given for TRASH that will not be worth above *Eight* or *Nine Thousand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the Worst; for Mr. WOOD, when he pleases, may by Stealth send over *another* 108000 *l.* and buy *all our Goods for Eleven Parts in Twelve*, under the Value. For Example, if a *Hatter* sells a Dozen of *Hats* for *Five Shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *Three Pounds*, and receives the Payment in Mr. WOOD's Coin, he really receives only the Value of *Five Shillings*.

PERHAPS you will wonder how such an *ordinary Fellow* as this Mr. WOOD could have so much Interest as to get His MAJESTY's Broad Seal for so great a Sum of bad Money, to be sent to this poor Country; and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the same Favour, and let us make our own HALF-PENCE, as we used to do. Now I will make that Matter

very plain. We are at a great Distance from the *King's Court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great Number of *Lords* and *Squires*, whose Estates are here, and are our Countrymen, spend all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there. But this same Mr. WOOD was able to attend constantly for his own Interest; he is an ENGLISHMAN and had GREAT FRIENDS, and it seems knew very well *where to give Money*, to those that would speak to OTHERS that could speak to the KING, and would tell a FAIR STORY. And HIS MAJESTY, and perhaps the great Lord or Lords who advised him, might think it was for our *Country's Good*; and so, as the Lawyers express it, the KING was deceived in his Grant; which often happens in *all Reigns*. And I am sure if His MAJESTY knew that such a Patent, if it should take Effect according to the Desire of Mr. WOOD, would utterly ruin this Kingdom, which hath given such great Proofs of its *Loyalty*; he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his Displeasure to SOME BODY OR OTHER: *But a Word to the Wise is enough.* Most of you must have heard with what Anger our *Honourable House of Commons* received an Account of this WOOD's PATENT. There were several *Fine Speeches* made upon it, and plain Proofs, that it was all a WICKED CHEAT from the *Bottom to the Top*; and several *smart Votes* were printed, which that same WOOD had the Assurance to answer likewise in *Print*, and in so confident a Way, as if he were *a better Man than our whole Parliament* put together.

THIS WOOD, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *Barrels of those* HALF-PENCE, to *Cork* and other *Sea-Port Towns*, and to get them off, offered an *Hundred Pounds* in his *Coin* for *Seventy* or *Eighty* in *Silver*: But the *Collectors* of the KING's Customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the Parliament hath condemned them, and desired the KING that they might be stopped, all the *Kingdom* do abominate them.

BUT WOOD is still working *under hand* to force his HALF-PENCE upon us; and if he can by help of his *Friends* in *England* prevail so far as to get an Order that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the *King*'s Money shall receive them, and that the *Army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his Work shall be*

done. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a *Case*: For the common Soldier when he goes to the *Market* or *Ale-house*, will offer this Money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *hector*, and *threaten* to *beat* the *Butcher* or *Ale-wife*, or take the Goods by Force, and throw them the bad HALF-PENCE. In this and the like Cases, the *Shop-keeper*, or *Victualler*, or *any other Tradesman* has no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in WOOD's Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for a *Quart of Ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his Goods till he gets the *Money*.

FOR suppose you go to an *Ale-house* with that base Money, and the *Landlord* gives you a Quart for Four of these HALF-PENCE, what must the *Victualler* do? His *Brewer* will not be paid in that Coin, or if the *Brewer* should be such a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from them for their * *Bere*, because they are bound by their Leases to pay their Rents in Good and Lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *Squire their Landlord* will never be so bewitched to take such *Trash* for his Land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops it is the same Thing, and we are all undone.

THE common Weight of these HALF-PENCE is between four and five to an *Ounce*; suppose five, then three Shillings and four Pence will weigh a Pound, and consequently *Twenty Shillings* will weigh *Six Pounds Butter Weight*. Now there are many hundred *Farmers* who pay Two hundred Pounds a Year Rent: Therefore when one of these *Farmers* comes with his Half-Year's Rent, which is One hundred Pound, it will be at least Six hundred Pound weight, which is Three Horses Load.

IF a *Squire* has a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here; he must bring with him five or six Horses loaden with *Sacks* as the *Farmers* bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. WOOD's Money. And I hope we shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

* *A sort of Barley in* Ireland.

THEY say SQUIRE CONOLLY has *Sixteen Thousand Pounds a Year*; now if he sends for his *Rent* to Town, *as it is likely he does*, he must have *Two Hundred and Fifty Horses* to bring up his *Half Year's Rent*, and two or three great *Cellars* in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am assured, that some great Bankers keep by them *Forty Thousand Pounds* in ready Cash to answer all Payments, which Sum in Mr. WOOD's Money, would require Twelve Hundred Horses to carry it.

FOR my own Part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish Stuffs* and *Silks*, and instead of taking Mr. WOOD's bad Copper, I intend to Truck with my Neighbours the *Butchers*, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the rest, *Goods for Goods*, and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me like my *Heart's Blood* till better Times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. WOOD's Money, as my Father did the Brass Money in King *James*'s Time; who could buy *Ten Pound* of it with a *Guinea*, and I hope to get as much for a *Pistole*, and so purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

THESE *Half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be *Counterfeit*, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is so *Base*. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*; and Mr. WOOD will never be at rest, but coin on: So that in some Years we shall have at least five Times 108000 *l.* of this *Lumber*. Now the current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds in all; and while there is a *Silver* Six-Pence left, these *Blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

WHEN once the *Kingdom* is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will all turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment; because, as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged by their Leases to pay *Sterling*, which is Lawful Current Money of *England*; then they will turn their own *Farmers*, *as too many of them do already*, run *all* into *Sheep* where they can, keeping only such other *Cattle* as are necessary; then they will be their own *Merchants*, and send their *Wool*, and *Butter*, and *Hides*, and *Linnen* beyond Sea for ready *Money*,

and *Wine*, and *Spices*, and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *Cottagers*. The *Farmers* must *Rob* or *Beg*, or leave their *Country*. The *Shop-keepers* in this and every other Town, must *Break* and *Starve*: For it is the *Landed-man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shop-keeper*, and *Handicrafts-Man*.

BUT when the *Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver*, and the like, in his own House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I SHOULD never have done, if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *Foolish* and *Wicked* as to take this *Cursed Coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *One Scale*, and *this sorry Fellow* WOOD *into the other*: That Mr. WOOD should weigh down *this whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*: And that is more than the *English* do by *all the World besides*.

BUT your *great Comfort is*, that, as his Majesty's *Patent* doth not oblige you to take this *Money*, so the *Laws* have not given the *Crown* a Power of forcing the *Subjects* to take what *Money* the *King* pleases: For then by the same Reason we might be bound to take *Pebble-stones*, or *Cockle-shells*, or *stamped Leather* for *Current Coin*; if ever we should happen to live under an ill *Prince*; who might likewise by the same Power make a *Guinea* pass for Ten Pounds, a *Shilling* for Twenty Shillings, and so on; by which he would in a short Time get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the *Kingdom* into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Brass* or *Leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *Cruel* or *Oppressive* in the *French Government*, than their common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher Value; which however is not the Thousandth Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver*, and *Gold* for *Gold*; but this *Fellow* will not so much as give us good *Brass* or *Copper* for our *Gold* and *Silver*, nor even a Twelfth Part of their Worth.

HAVING said this much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgments of some great *Lawyers* in this Matter; whom I fee'd

on purpose for your Sakes, and got their *Opinions* under their *Hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good Grounds.

A Famous Law-Book *called the* Mirrour of Justice, *discoursing of the Charters* (*or Laws*) *ordained by our* Ancient Kings, *declares the* Law *to be as follows: It was ordained that no* King *of this Realm should* Change, *or* Impair *the* Money, *or make any other* Money *than of* Gold *or* Silver *without the Assent of all the Counties, that is*, as my Lord *Coke* says, * *without the Assent of* Parliament.

THIS Book is very Ancient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer my Lord *Coke* †. By the Laws of *England*, the several Metals are divided into *Lawful* or *true Metal* and *unlawful* or *false Metal*; the Former comprehends *Silver* or *Gold*, the Latter all *Baser Metals:* That the Former is only to pass in Payments, appears by an Act of *Parliament* || made the Twentieth Year of *Edward* the *First*, called the *Statute concerning the passing of Pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into *English*; For some of our *Laws* at that time were, as I am told, writ in *Latin: Whoever in Buying or Selling presumeth to refuse an Half-penny or Farthing of Lawful Money, bearing the Stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a Contemner of the King's Majesty, and cast into Prison.*

BY this *Statute*, no Person is to be reckoned a *Contemner* of the *King's Majesty*, and for that Crime to be *committed to Prison*; but he who refuseth to accept the King's Coin made of *Lawful Metal*: by which as I observed before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

THAT this is the true *Construction* of the *Act*, appears not only from the plain Meaning of the Words, but from my Lord *Coke*'s * Observation upon it. By this Act (says he) it appears, that no Subject can be forced to take in *Buying* or *Selling* or other *Payments*, any Money made but of lawful Metal; that is, of *Silver* or *Gold*.

THE Law of *England* gives the King all Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not the Mines of other *Metals*; the Reason of which *Prerogative* or *Power*, as it is given † by my Lord *Coke*, is because

* 2 *Inst.* 576. † 2 *Inst.* 576. 7. || 2 *Inst.* 577.
* 2 *Inst.* 577. † 2 *Inst.* 577.

Money can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*; but not of other Metals.

PURSUANT to this Opinion, *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were anciently made of *Silver*, which is evident from the Act of *Parliament* of *Henry* the IVth. Chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great Scarcity that is at present within the Realm of* England *of Half-pence and Farthings of* Silver; *it is ordained and established, that the Third Part of all the* Money *of* Silver Plate *which shall be brought to the* Bullion, *shall be made in* Half-pence *and* Farthings. This shews that by the Words *Half-penny* and *Farthing* of Lawful Money in that Statute concerning the *passing of* Pence, is meant a small Coin in *Half-pence* and *Farthings* of *Silver*.

THIS is further manifest from the Statute of the Ninth Year of *Edward* the IIId. Chap. 3. which enacts, *That no sterling* Half-penny *or* Farthing *be Molten for to make Vessels, or any other thing by the Gold-smiths, nor others, upon Forfeiture of the* Money *somolten* (*or melted.*)

By another Act in this *King*'s Reign, *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*. And by an Act made in the Eleventh Year of his Reign, Chap. 5. *Galley Half-pence* were not to pass: What kind of *Coin* these were I do not know; but I presume they were made of *Base Metal*. And these Acts were no New *Laws*, but further Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the *Coin*.

THUS the *Law* stands in Relation to *Coin*. Nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in *Davis*'s *Reports*; who tells us, that in the time of *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, *Queen Elizabeth* ordered *Money* of *mixt Metal* to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and sent over hither for Payment of the *Army*; obliging all People to receive it; and Commanding, that all *Silver Money* should be taken only as *Bullion*, that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us several Particulars in this Matter too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy Council* of this *Kingdom* obliged a *Merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt Money* for Goods transmitted hither.

BUT this Proceeding is rejected by all the best Lawyers, as contrary to Law, the *Privy Council* here having no such legal Power. And besides it is to be considered, that the *Queen* was then under great Difficulties by a Rebellion in this *Kingdom* assisted from *Spain*. And, whatever is done in great Exigences

and dangerous Times, should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of *Peace* and *Quietness*.

I WILL now, my dear Friends, to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you to do; and what it does not oblige you to.

FIRST, you are obliged to take all Money in Payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the *English* Standard or Weight; provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

SECONDLY, you are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*; not only the *Half-pence* or *Farthings* of *England*, but of any other Country. And it is meerly for Convenience, or Ease, that you are content to take them; because the Custom of coining *Silver Half-pence* and *Farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose, on Account of their being subject to be lost.

THIRDLY, Much less are we obliged to take those *Vile Half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost *Eleven*-Pence in every Shilling.

THEREFORE, my Friends, stand to it One and All: Refuse this *Filthy Trash*. It is no Treason to rebel against Mr. *Wood*. His *Majesty* in his Patent obliges no body to take these *Half-pence*: Our *Gracious Prince* hath no such ill Advisers about him; or if he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the *King*'s Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is Lawful, of right Standard, *Gold* and *Silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

AND let me in the next Place apply my self particularly to you who are the poorer Sort of *Tradesmen*: Perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your Customers come to your Shops or Stalls with nothing but *Brass*; which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *Half-pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco* or *Brandy*, or any other Thing you want; the Shop-keeper will advance his Goods accordingly, or else he must break and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of Ten-penny Stuff for Twenty of Mr. *Wood*'s *Half-pence*? No, not under Two Hundred at least; neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump. I will tell you one Thing

further; that if Mr. *Wood*'s Project should take, it will ruin even our Beggars: For when I give a Beggar a Half-penny, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good Way to fill his Belly; but the Twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

In short; these *Half-pence* are like the *accursed Thing*, which, as the *Scripture* tells us, the *Children of Israel* were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the *Plague* and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them. I have heard *Scholars* talk of a Man who told the King that he had invented a Way to torment People by putting them into a *Bull* of Brass with Fire under it: But the *Prince* put the *Projector* first into his own *Brazen Bull* to make the Experiment. This very much resembles the Project of Mr. *Wood*; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. *Wood*'s Fate; that the *Brass* he contrived to torment this *Kingdom* with, may prove his own Torment, and his Destruction at last.

N. B. The Author of this Paper is informed by Persons who have made it their Business to be exact in their Observations on the true Value of these *Half-pence*; that any Person may expect to get a Quart of Two-penny Ale for Thirty Six of them.

I desire that all Families may keep this Paper carefully by them to refresh their Memories whenever they shall have farther Notice of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, or any other the like Imposture.

A LETTER TO Mr. *Harding* the Printer,

Upon Occaſion of a

PARAGRAPH IN HIS News - Paper of *Aug.* 1ſt.

Relating to Mr. *Woods*'s Half-Pence.

By M. B. *Drapier.*
AUTHOR of the LETTER to the *SHOP-KEEPERS*, &c.

DUBLIN:
Printed by *John Harding* in *Moleſworth*'s-*Court* in *Fiſhamble-Street.*

A LETTER to Mr. *Harding* the Printer, upon Occasion of a *Paragraph* in his News-Paper of *August* 1st, 1724, relating to Mr. *Wood*'s Half-Pence.

IN your News-Letter of the First Instant, there is a Paragraph, dated from *London, July* 25th, relating to *Wood*'s Half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *Letter to the Shop-keepers, &c.* that this vile Fellow would never be at Rest; and that the Danger of our Ruin approaches nearer; And therefore the Kingdom requires *New* and *Fresh Warning*. However I take that Paragraph to be in a great Measure, an Imposition upon the Publick; at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own News-Writer. I cannot but observe from that Paragraph, that this Publick Enemy of ours, not satisfied to Ruin us with his Trash, takes every Occasion to treat this Kingdom with the utmost Contempt. He represents *Several of our Merchants and Traders upon Examination before a Committee of Council, agreeing, that there was the utmost Necessity of Copper-Money here, before his Patent; so that several Gentlemen have been forced to Tally with their Workmen, and give them Bits of Cards, sealed and subscribed with their Names.* What then? If a Physician prescribe to a Patient a *Dram* of Physick, shall a Rascal Apothecary cram him with a *Pound*, and mix it up with *Poyson*? And is not a Landlord's Hand and Seal to his own Labourers a better Security for Five or Ten Shillings, than *Wood*'s Brass Ten Times below the Real Value, can be to the Kingdom, for an Hundred and Eight Thousand Pounds?

BUT who are these *Merchants and Traders of Ireland* that make this Report of *the utmost Necessity we are under for Copper Money*? They are only a few Betrayers of their Country, Confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchase a great Quantity of his Coin, perhaps at half the Price that we are to take it, and vend it among us to the Ruin of the Publick, and their own private

Advantage. Are not these excellent Witnesses, upon whose Integrity the Fate of a Kingdom must depend; who are Evidences in their own Cause, and Sharers in this Work of Iniquity?

If we could have deserved the Liberty of coining for our selves, as we formerly did, (and why we have not *is every Body's Wonder as well as mine*) Ten Thousand Pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one Fifth below the intrinsick Value, and this Sum, with the Stock of Half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient: But *Wood*, by his Emissaries, Enemies to God and this Kingdom, hath taken Care to buy up as many of our old Half-pence as he could; and from thence the present Want of Change arises; to remove which, by Mr. *Wood*'s Remedy, would be, to cure a Scratch on the Finger by cutting off the Arm. But supposing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that Five and Twenty Thousand Pounds would be a Sum fully sufficient to answer all our Occasions. I am no inconsiderable Shop-keeper in this Town, I have discoursed with several of my own, and other Trades; with many Gentlemen both of City and Country; and also, with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers; who all agree that Two Shillings in Change for every Family, would be more than necessary in all Dealings. Now by the largest Computation (even before that grievous Discouragement of *Agriculture*, which hath so much lessened our Numbers) the Souls in this Kingdom are computed to be One Million and a half; which, allowing Six to a Family, makes Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Families, and consequently, Two Shillings to each Family will amount only to Five and Twenty thousand Pounds: Whereas this *Honest Liberal Hard-ware-Man Wood*, would impose upon us above *Four Times* that Sum.

Your Paragraph relates further; that Sir *Isaac Newton* reported an *Assay* taken at the *Tower*, of *Wood*'s Metal; by which it appears, that *Wood had in all respects performed his Contract*. His Contract! With whom? Was it with the Parliament or People of *Ireland*? Are not they to be the Purchasers? But they detest, abhor, and reject it, as Corrupt, Fraudulent, mingled with Dirt and Trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to Law, and will impose his Goods upon us by Force.

BUT your News-Letter says, that an *Assay* was made of the Coin. How impudent and insupportable is this? *Wood* takes Care to coin a Dozen or two Half-pence of good Metal, sends them to the *Tower* and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already Coined, or shall Coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a Gentleman often sends to my Shop for a *Pattern* of Stuff; I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes or sends and compares the *Pattern* with the whole Piece, and probably we come to a Bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred Sheep, and the Grazier should bring me one single Weather, fat and well fleeced by way of *Pattern*, and expect the same Price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good Security to restore my Money for those that were *Lean*, or *Shorn*, or *Scabby*; I would be none of his Customer. I have heard of a Man who had a Mind to sell his House, and therefore carried a Piece of *Brick* in his Pocket, which he shewed as a *Pattern* to encourage Purchasers: And this is directly the Case in Point with Mr. *Wood*'s *Assay*.

THE next Part of the Paragraph contains Mr. *Wood*'s voluntary Proposals for *preventing any future Objections or Apprehensions*.

HIS First Proposal is; That *whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand Pounds, and has Copper prepared to make it up forty thousand Pounds, he will be content to Coin no more, unless the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his Patent empowers him to coin a far greater Quantity*.

TO which if I were to answer it should be thus: Let Mr. *Wood* and his Crew of *Founders* and *Tinkers* coin on till there is not an old Kettle left in the Kingdom: Let them coin old Leather, Tobacco-pipe Clay, or the Dirt in the Streets, and call their Trumpery by what Name they please from a Guinea to a Farthing; we are not under any Concern to know how he and his Tribe or Accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope, and trust, that we are all to a Man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his Ware.

THE King has given him a Patent to coin Half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them: And I have already shewn in my *Letter to the Shop-keepers, &c.* that the Law hath not left it in the Power of the *Prerogative* to compel the Subject to take

any Money, beside Gold and Silver, of the Right Sterling and Standard.

Wood further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his Expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above Forty Thousand Pounds unless* THE EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT: First, I observe, that this Sum of *Forty Thousand Pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole Kingdom, although we had not one of our old Half-pence left. Again I ask, who is to be Judge when the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT? Without doubt, he means himself; for as to us of this poor Kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if his Project should succeed, we were never *Once* consulted till the Matter was over; and he will judge of our EXIGENCES by his own: Neither will these be ever at an End, till he and his Accomplices will think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our Gold and Silver, but intends to buy up our Goods and Manufactures with the same Coin.

I SHALL not enter into Examination of the Prices for which he now proposes to sell his Half-pence, or what he calls his Copper, by the Pound; I have said enough of it in my former Letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that by his own first Computation, we were to pay Three Shillings for what was intrinsically worth but One, although it had been of the true Weight and Standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a Difference both in Weight and Badness in several of his Coins, that some of them have been Nine in Ten below the intrinsick Value, and most of them Six or Seven.

HIS last Proposal being of a peculiar Strain and Nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on Account of the Matter and the Style. It is as follows.

Lastly, in Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, *that Mr.* Wood *will by such Coinage drain them of their Gold and Silver; he proposes to take their Manufactures in Exchange; and that no Person be* OBLIGED *to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny at one Payment.*

FIRST, Observe this little impudent *Hard-ware-Man* turning into ridicule *the Direful Apprehensions of a whole Kingdom*, priding

himself as the Cause of them, and daring to prescribe what no King of *England* ever attempted, how far a whole Nation shall be obliged to take his Brass Coin. And he has Reason to insult; for sure there was never an Example in History, of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year, in daily Dread of utter Destruction; not by a powerful Invader at the Head of Twenty thousand Men; not by a Plague or a Famine; not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more Gracious) or a corrupt Administration; but by one single, diminutive, insignificant Mechanick.

BUT to go on. To remove our DIREFUL APPREHENSIONS *that he will drain us of our Gold and Silver by his Coinage*, this little Arbitrary *Mock-Monarch* most Graciously offers to *take our Manufactures in Exchange*. Are our *Irish* Understandings indeed so low in his Opinion? Is not this the very Misery we complain of? That his cursed Project will put us under the Necessity of selling our Goods for what is equal to *Nothing*. How would such a Proposal sound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other Country with which we traffick, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this Condition, that we should take their Money at Ten Times higher than the intrinsick Value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for Instance, that we will sell him a Stone of Wool for a Parcel of his *Counters* not worth *Six-pence*, when we can send it to *England* and receive as many Shillings in Gold and Silver? Surely there was never heard such a Compound of Impudence, Villany, and Folly.

HIS Proposals conclude with perfect *High-Treason*. He promises, that no Person shall be OBLIGED to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny of his Coin in one Payment: By which it is plain, that he pretends to OBLIGE every Subject in this Kingdom to take so much in every Payment, if it be offered: Whereas his Patent *Obliges* no Man; nor can the Prerogative, by Law, claim such a Power; as I have often observed: So that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *Entire Legislature*, and an absolute Dominion over the Properties of the whole Nation.

GOOD GOD! Who are this Wretch's *Advisers*? Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers*, or *Sharers*? Mr. *Wood* will OBLIGE me to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Brass in every Payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Wood* and his Deputies through

the Head, like *High-way Men* or *House-breakers*, if they dare to force one Farthing of their Coin on me in the Payment of an Hundred Pounds. It is no Loss of Honour to submit to the *Lion*: But who, with the Figure of a *Man*, can think with Patience of being devoured alive by a *Rat*? He has laid a Tax upon the People of *Ireland* of Seventeen Shillings at least in the Pound: A Tax, I say, not only upon Lands, but Interest-Money, Goods, Manufactures, the Hire of Handicraftsmen, Labourers and Servants. Shop-keepers, look to your selves. *Wood* will *oblige* and force you to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Trash in every Payment; and many of you receive Twenty, Thirty, Forty Payments in one Day; or else you can hardly find Bread: And pray consider, how much that will amount to in a Year: Twenty times Five-pence Half-penny is Nine Shillings and Two Pence; which is above an Hundred and Sixty Pounds a Year: Whereby you will be Losers of at least One Hundred and Forty Pounds by taking your Payments in his Money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on such Conditions, they may: But for my own particular; *Let his Money perish with him*. If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to Prison, than pay a few Shillings to King *Charles* I. without Authority of Parliament; I will rather chuse to be *Hanged* than have all my Substance Taxed at Seventeen Shillings in the Pound, at the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

THE Paragraph concludes thus. N. B. (that is to-say *Nota Bene*, or *Mark well*) *No Evidence appeared from* Ireland *or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complained of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant*.

THE Impudence of this Remark exceeds all that went before. First, the House of Commons in *Ireland*; which represents the whole People of the Kingdom: And, Secondly, the Privy Council Addressed His Majesty against these Half-pence. What could be done more to express the universal Sense of the Nation? If his Copper were Diamonds, and the Kingdom were entirely against it; would not That be sufficient to reject it? Must a Committee of the whole House of Commons, and our whole Privy Council go over to Argue *Pro* and *Con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what End did the King give his Patent for Coining Half-pence in

Ireland? Was it not, because it was represented to His Sacred Majesty, that such a Coinage would be of Advantage to the Good of this Kingdom, and of all His Subjects here? It is to the Patentee's Peril if his Representation be false; and the Execution of his Patent be Fraudulent and Corrupt. Is he so Wicked and Foolish to think that his Patent was given him to Ruin a Million and a Half of People, that he might be a Gainer of Three or Fourscore Thousand Pounds to himself? Before he was at the Charge of passing a Patent; much more of Raking up so much Filthy Dross, and Stamping it with His Majesty's *Image and Superscription*; should he not first in common Sense, in common Equity, and common Manners, have consulted the principal Party concerned; that is to say, the People of the Kingdom, the House of Lords or Commons, or the Privy Council? If any Foreigner should ask us, *Whose Image and Superscription* there is on *Wood*'s Coin? We should be ashamed to tell him it was *Cæsar*'s. In that great Want of Copper Half-pence, which he alledges we were, Our City set up *our Cæsar*'s Statue in excellent Copper, at an Expence that is equal in Value to Thirty Thousand Pounds of his Coin: And we will not receive his *Image* in worse Metal.

I OBSERVE many of our People putting a Melancholly Case on this Subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if *Wood*'s Half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his Majesty puts out a *Proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dinned in my Ears. But, I desire my Countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The King never issues out a *Proclamation* but to enjoin what the *Law* permits him. He will not issue out a *Proclamation* against *Law*: Or if such a Thing should happen by a Mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it, than to run our Heads into the Fire. Besides, his Majesty will never command us by a *Proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the Patent it self. There he leaves it to our Discretion; so that our Destruction must be intirely owing to our selves. Therefore, let no Man be afraid of a *Proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet upon this Occasion, will be of no Force. The King's Revenues here, are near four Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year. Can you think his Ministers

will advise him to take them in *Wood*'s Brass, which will reduce the Value to Fifty Thousand Pounds. *England* gets a Million *sterl.* by this Nation; which, if this Project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: And do you think those who live in *England* upon *Irish* Estates, will be content to take an Eighth or a Tenth Part, by being paid in *Wood*'s Dross.

If *Wood* and his *Confederates*, were not convinced of our Stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an Enterprize. He now sees a Spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag; he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last out of Ignorance, or Fear, or of being perfectly tired with Opposition, we shall be forced to yield. And, therefore, I confess, it is my chief Endeavour to keep up your Spirits and Resentments. If I tell you there is a Precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your Necks: If I point to it before your Eyes, must I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning? Are our People's *Hearts waxed gross*? Are *their Ears dull of hearing*, and have *they closed their Eyes*? I fear there are some few *Vipers* among us, who, for Ten or Twenty Pounds Gain, would sell their Souls and their Country; although at last, it would end in their own Ruin as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf Adder, who refuses to hear the Voice of the Charmer, charm he never so wisely.*

Although my Letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my Countrymen. I have no Interest in this Affair, but what is common to the Publick: I can live better than many others: I have some Gold and Silver by me, and a Shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a Shift, when many of my Betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the Coldness and Indifference of many People with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *Proclamation*; others shrug up their Shoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no Danger at all: Others are comforted that it will be a common Calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their Neighbours. Will a Man, who hears Midnight-Robbers at his Door, get out of Bed, and raise his Family for a common Defence? And shall a whole Kingdom lie in a Lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes at the

Head of his *Confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our Posterity for ever? If an Highwayman meets you on the Road, you give him your Money to save your Life; but, God be thanked, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a Hair of your Heads. You have all the Laws of God and Man on your Side. When he, or his Accomplices, offer you his Dross, it is but saying *No*, and you are safe. If a mad Man should come to my Shop with a Handful of Dirt raked out of the Kennel, and offer it in Payment for Ten Yards of Stuff, I would pity or laugh at him; or, if his Behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my Doors. And, if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand any Gold or Silver, or Commodities for which I have paid my Gold and Silver, in Exchange for his Trash, can he deserve or expect better Treatment?

WHEN the *evil Day* is come, (if it must come) let us mark and observe those who presume to offer these Half-pence in Payment. Let their Names and Trades, and Places of Abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as Betrayers of their Country, and Confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at Markets and Fairs. And let the first honest Discoverer give the Word about, that *Wood*'s Half-pence have been offered; and caution the poor innocent People not to receive them.

PERHAPS I have been too tedious; but there would never be an End, if I attempted to say all that this melancholly Subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one Proposal; which if it were put in Practice, would blow up this destructive Project at once. Let some skilful judicious Pen draw up an ADVERTISEMENT to the following Purpose. That,

Whereas one William Wood, *Hard-ware-man, now or lately sojourning in the City of* London, *hath, by many Misrepresentations procured a Patent for coining an Hundred and Eight Thousand Pounds in Copper Half-pence for this Kingdom; which is a Sum five times greater than our Occasions require. And whereas it is notorious that the said* Wood *hath coined his Half-pence of such base Metal, and false Weight, that they are, at least, six Parts in seven below the real Value. And, whereas we have Reason to apprehend, that the said* Wood *may, at any Time hereafter, clandestinely coin as many more Half-Pence as he pleases. And, whereas the said Patent neither doth, nor can* oblige *his Majesty's Subjects, to receive the said Half-pence in any Payment, but*

leaves it to their voluntary Choice; because, by Law the Subject cannot be obliged *to take any Money, except* Gold *or* Silver. *And, whereas, contrary to the Letter and Meaning of the said Patent, the said* Wood *hath declared, that every Person shall be* obliged *to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Coin in every Payment. And, whereas the House of Commons, and Privy-Council, have severally addressed his most sacred Majesty, representing the ill Consequences which the said* Coinage *may have upon this Kingdom. And lastly, whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole Nation, to a Man, (except Mr.* Wood *and his Confederates) are in the utmost Apprehensions of the ruinous Consequences, that must follow from the said* Coinage. *Therefore we, whose Names are underwritten, being Persons of considerable Estates in this Kingdom, and Residers therein, do unanimously resolve, and declare, that we will never receive one Farthing, or Half-penny of the said* Wood's *coining; and that we will direct all our Tenants to refuse the said Coin from any Person whatsoever; of which, that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a* Copy *of this* Advertisement, *to be read to them by our Stewards, Receivers,* &c.

I COULD wish, that a Paper of this Nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three Hundred principal Gentlemen of this Kingdom; and printed Copies thereof sent to their several Tenants: I am deceived, if any Thing could sooner defeat this execrable Design of *Wood* and his *Accomplices*: This would immediately give the Alarm, and set the Kingdom on their Guard: This would give Courage to the meanest Tenant and Cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true.*——

I MUST tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several Hundred Persons have enquired at your House, for my *Letter to the Shop-keepers*, &c. and you had none to sell them. Pray keep your self provided with that Letter, and with this; you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your Sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every News-Paper; and let it not be your Fault or mine, if our Countrymen will not take Warning. I desire you, likewise, to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your Servant,

Aug. 4, 1724. M. B.

SOME

Obſervations

Upon a PAPER, Call'd, The

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE

OF THE

Moſt Honourable the *Privy-Council*

IN

ENGLAND,

Relating to WOOD's *Half-pence.*

By M. B. *Drapier.*

AUTHOR of the LETTER to the *SHOP-KEEPERS*, &c.

DUBLIN:

Printed by *John Harding* in *Moleſworth's Court* in *Fiſhamble Street.*

Some Observations upon a *Paper*, called, *The* Report *of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy Council in* England, *relating to* Wood's *Half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

HAVING already written *Two Letters* to People of my own Level and Condition: And having now very pressing Occasion for writing a *Third*; I thought I could not more properly Address it, than to your *Lordships* and *Worships*.

THE Occasion is this. A printed Paper was sent to me on the 18th Instant, entituled, *A* Report *of the Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable* Privy-Council *in* England, *relating to Mr.* Wood's *Half-pence and Farthings*. There is no Mention made where the Paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in *Dublin*: And I have been told, that the Copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London Journal*, or some other Print of no Authority or Consequence: And for any Thing that Legally appears to the contrary, it may be a Contrivance to *Fright* us; or a *Project* of some *Printer*, who hath a Mind to make a Penny by publishing something upon a Subject, which now employs all our Thoughts in this *Kingdom*. Mr. *Wood* in publishing this Paper would insinuate to the World, as if the *Committee* had a greater Concern for his Credit and private Emolument, than for the Honour of the *Privy Council* and both *Houses of Parliament* Here, and for the Quiet and Welfare of this whole Kingdom: For it seems intended as a Vindication of Mr. *Wood*; not without several severe Reflections on the Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of *Ireland*.

THE whole is indeed written with the Turn and Air of a Pamphlet; as if it were a Dispute between *William Wood* on the one Part; and the *Lords Justices*, *Privy Council*, and *Both Houses* of *Parliament* on the other: The Design of it being to Clear *William Wood*, and to charge the other Side with casting Rash and Groundless Aspersions upon him.

BUT if it be really what the Title imports; Mr. *Wood* hath treated the *Committee* with great Rudeness, by publishing an Act of Theirs in so unbecoming a Manner, without their Leave, and before it was communicated to the *Government* and *Privy-Council* of *Ireland*; to whom the Committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all Deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a Report of a Committee of the Council in *England*, is *hitherto* a Law in either *Kingdom*; and until any Point is determined to be a LAW, it remains disputable by every Subject.

THIS (may it please your *Lordships* and *Worships*) may seem a strange Way of discoursing in an *illiterate Shop-keeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the Help of Books) to improve that small Portion of Reason, which God hath pleased to give me; and when Reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my Head from it. Thus, for Instance; if any Lawyer should tell me that such a Point were Law, from which many gross, palpable Absurdities must follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* should positively assert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited Prince* could, by his *Prerogative*, oblige his Subjects to take half an Ounce of Lead, stamped with his Image, for Twenty Shillings in Gold, I should swear he was *deceived*, or a *Deceiver*; because a Power like that, would leave the whole Lives and Fortunes of the People, entirely at the Mercy of the Monarch: Yet this, in Effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in some of his Papers; and what suspicious People may possibly apprehend from some Passages in that which is called the *Report*.

THAT Paper mentions *such Persons to have been examined, who were* desirous *and* willing *to be heard upon this Subject*. I am told, they were four in all, *Coleby*, *B*——, Mr. *Finley* the Banker, and one more, whose Name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the Treasury in *Ireland*; and although he was acquitted for want of legal Proof, yet every Person in the Court believed him to be guilty.

BUT, since I have gone so far as to mention particular Persons; it may be some Satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the Honour to have a whole Kingdom at his Mercy, for almost two Years together. I find he is, in the Patent,

entitled, *Esq*; although he were understood to be only a *Hardware-Man*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former Letters: However, a *'Squire* he is, not only by Virtue of his Patent, but by having been a Collector in *Shropshire*; where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the County, he was cast, and for the Infamy of the Fact, lost his Employment.

I HAVE heard another Story of this 'Squire *Wood*, from a very honourable Lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was sent for, six Years ago, by Sir *Isaac Newton*, to try the Coinage of four Men, who then sollicited a Patent for coining Half-pence for *Ireland*; their Names were *Wood*, *Costor*, *Elliston*, and *Parker*. *Parker* made the fairest Offer, and *Wood* the worst; for his Coin were three Half-pence in a Pound Weight less Value than the other. By which it is plain with what Intentions he sollicited this Patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

IT is alledged, in the said Paper called the *Report*, that upon repeated Orders from a Secretary of State, for sending over such Papers and Witnesses, as should be thought proper to support the Objections made against the Patent, (by both Houses of Parliament;) the *Lord Lieutenant* represented, *The great Difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these Orders. That none of the principal Members of both Houses, who were in the King's Service, or Council, would take upon them to advise how any material Person, or Papers, might be sent over on this Occasion*, &c. And this is often repeated, and represented as *a Proceeding that seems very extraordinary; and that in a Matter which had raised so great a* CLAMOUR *in* Ireland, *no one Person could be prevailed upon to come over from* Ireland, *in Support of the united Sense of both Houses of Parliament in* Ireland; *especially, that the chief Difficulty should arise from a general Apprehension of a Miscarriage, in an Enquiry before his Majesty, or in a Proceeding by due Course of Law, in a Case where both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most solemn Manner.*

HOW shall I, a poor ignorant Shop-keeper, utterly unskilled in Law, be able to answer so weighty an Objection? I will try what can be done by plain Reason, unassisted by Art, Cunning, or Eloquence.

IN my humble Opinion, the Committee of Council hath al-

ready prejudged the whole Case, by calling the united Sense of both *Houses* of *Parliament* in *Ireland*, an UNIVERSAL CLAMOUR. Here the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of *Ireland*, against a ruinous destructive Project of an *obscure*, *single Undertaker*, is called a *Clamour*. I desire to know how such a Style would be resented in *England*, from a Committee of Council there to a Parliament; and how many *Impeachments* would follow upon it. But, supposing the Appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise Minister who despised the *universal Clamour* of a People; and if that *Clamour* can be quieted, by disappointing the fraudulent Practice of a single Person, the Purchase is not exorbitant.

BUT, in Answer to this Objection. First, it is manifest, that if this Coinage had been in *Ireland*, with such Limitations as have been formerly specified in other Patents, and granted to Persons, of this Kingdom, or even of *England*, able to give sufficient Security; few or no Inconveniencies could have happened, which might not have been immediately remedied. As to Mr. *Knox*'s Patent, mentioned in the *Report*, Security was given into the Exchequer, that the Patentee should, upon all Demands, be obliged to receive his Half-pence back, and pay Gold or Silver in Exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom, I suppose, that Patent was made over) was, in 1694, forced to leave off Coining before the End of that Year, by the great Crouds of People continually offering to return his Coinage upon him. In 1698, he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same Reason. This entirely alters the Case; for there is no such Condition in *Wood*'s Patent; which Condition was worth a Hundred Times all other Limitations whatsoever.

PUT the Case, that the two Houses of *Lords and Commons* of *England*, and the *Privy Council* there, should address his Majesty to recall a Patent, from whence they apprehend the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom: And to make it stronger, if possible, that the whole Nation, almost to a Man, should thereupon discover the *most dismal Apprehensions* (as Mr. *Wood* stiles them;) would his Majesty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Minister dare advise him against recalling such a Patent? Or would the Matter be referred to the *Privy Council*, or

to *Westminster-Hall*; the two Houses of *Parliament*, Plaintiffs, and *William Wood*, Defendant? And is there even the smallest Difference between the two Cases?

WERE not the People of *Ireland* born as *free* as those of *England*? How have they forfeited their Freedom? Is not their *Parliament* as fair a *Representative* of the *People*, as that of *England*? And hath not their Privy Council as great, or a greater Share in the Administration of publick Affairs? Are they not Subjects of the same King? Does not the same *Sun* shine over them? And have they not the same *God* for their Protector? Am I a *Free-man* in *England*, and do I become a *Slave* in six Hours, by crossing the Channel? No Wonder then, if the boldest Persons were cautious to interpose in a Matter already determined by the whole Voice of the Nation; or to presume to represent the Representatives of the Kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a Treatment as they would deserve, at the next Session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferior Court in *England* should take a Matter out of the Hands of the high Court of Parliament, during a Prorogation, and decide it against the Opinion of both Houses.

IT happens, however, that, although no Persons were so bold, as to go over as Evidences, to prove the Truth of the Objections made against this Patent by the *High Court of Parliament* here; yet these Objections stand good, notwithstanding the Answers made by *Wood* and his *Council*.

THE *Report* says, that *upon an Assay made of the Fineness, Weight, and Value of this Copper, it exceeded in every Article*. This is possible enough, in the Pieces upon which the *Assay* was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in Point of Dexterity, if he had not taken Care to provide a sufficient Quantity of such Half-pence as would bear the Tryal; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of several Parcels*: Since it is now plain, that the Biass of Favour hath been wholly on his Side.

BUT what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive Demonstration of *Wood*'s fraudulent Practices in this Point. I have seen a large Quantity of these Half-pence weighed by a very skilful Person, which were of four different Kinds, three of them considerably under Weight. I have now before me, an

exact Computation of the Difference of Weight between these four Sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth Sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a Degree; that, in the Coinage of three Hundred and Sixty Tuns of Copper, the Patentee will be a Gainer, only by that Difference, of Twenty Four Thousand Four Hundred and Ninety Four Pounds; and, in the whole, the Publick will be a Loser of Eighty Two Thousand One Hundred and Sixty Eight Pounds, Sixteen Shillings, even supposing the Metal, in Point of Goodness, to answer *Wood*'s Contract, and the *Assay* that hath been made; which it infallibly doth not. For, this Point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced Men; who, upon several Tryals on many of these Half-pence, have found them to be at least one fourth Part below the Real Value (not including the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he or his Accomplices have already made of *his own Coin*, and scattered about:) Now the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper coined by the Weight of the Fourth, or Lightest Sort of his Half-pence, will amount to One hundred twenty two thousand four hundred eighty eight Pounds, Sixteen Shillings; and if we substract a Fourth Part of the real Value by the *Base Mixture* in the Metal, we must add to the publick Loss one fourth Part, to be substracted from the intrinsick Value of the Copper; which in Three hundred and sixty Tuns, amounts to Ten thousand and eighty Pounds; and this added to the former Sum of Eighty two thousand one hundred sixty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, will make in all, Ninety two thousand two hundred forty eight Pounds Loss to the Publick: besides the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he may at any Time hereafter think fit to coin: Nor do I know whether he reckons the DROSS Exclusive or Inclusive with his Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper; which, however, will make a considerable Difference in the Account.

YOU will here please to observe, That the Profit allowed to *Wood* by the Patent, is Twelve-pence out of every Pound of Copper, valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for Coinage of a Pound-Weight for the *English* Half-pence; and this Difference is almost 25 *per Cent.* which is double to the highest Exchange of Money, even under all the Additional Pressures,

and Obstructions to Trade, that this unhappy Kingdom lies at present. This one Circumstance in the Coinage of Three Hundred and sixty Tun of Copper, makes a Difference of Twenty seven thousand seven hundred and twenty Pounds between *English* and *Irish* Half-pence, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest Sort.

IT is likewise to be considered, that for every Half-penny in a Pound Weight, exceeding the Number directed by the Patent, *Wood* will be a Gainer in the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper, Sixteen hundred and eighty Pounds Profit more than the Patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *Comptrollers* EASY upon that Article.

AS to what is alledged, that *these Half-pence far exceed the like Coinage for* Ireland *in the Reigns of His Majesty's Predecessors*: There cannot well be a more exceptionable Way of Arguing, although the Fact were true; which, however, is altogether mistaken; not by any Fault in the *Committee*, but by the Fraud and Imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst Patterns he could find; such as were coined in small Numbers by *Permissions to private Men, as Butchers Half-pence, Black-Dogs*, and the like; or, perhaps, the small St. *Patrick*'s Coin which passeth now for a Farthing; or at best, some of the smallest *Raps* of the latest Kind. For I have now by me some Half-pence coined in the Year 1680, by virtue of the Patent granted to my Lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*; and they are heavier by a ninth Part than those of *Wood*, and in much better Metal: And the great St. *Patrick*'s Half-penny is yet larger than either.

BUT what is all this to the present Debate? If, under the various Exigencies of former Times, by Wars, Rebellions, and Insurrections, the Kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their Armies here with mixt or base Money; God forbid that the Necessities of turbulent Times should be a Precedent for Times of Peace, and Order, and Settlement.

IN the Patent above-mentioned, granted to Lord *Dartmouth* in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and renewed to *Knox*, the Securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *Patentee* to receive his Money back upon every Demand, were an effectual Remedy against all Inconveniences: And the *Copper was coined in our own*

Kingdom; so that we were in no Danger to purchase it with the Loss of all our Silver and Gold carried over to another; nor be at the Trouble of going to *England* for the redressing of any Abuse.

THAT the Kings of *England* have exercised their Prerogative of coining Copper for *Ireland* and for *England*, is not the present Question: But (to speak in the Style of the Report) it would *seem a little extraordinary*, supposing a King should think fit to exercise his *Prerogative* by coining Copper in *Ireland*, to be current in *England*, without referring it to his Officers in that Kingdom, to be informed whether the Grant were reasonable, and whether the People desired it or no, and without Regard to the Addresses of his Parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a Man as I should meddle with the King's *Prerogative*: But I have heard very wise Men say, that the King's *Prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *Good* and *Welfare* of his *People*. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the Good of *Ireland* was intended by this Patent. But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the Matter; and as soon as *Ireland* is informed of it, they declare against it; the *Two Houses of Parliament* and the *Privy Council* address his Majesty upon the Mischiefs apprehended by such a Patent. The *Privy Council* in *England* take the Matter out of the PARLIAMENT's Cognizance. The Good of the Kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* shall have the Power of Ruining a whole Nation, for his private Advantage.

I NEVER can suppose, that such Patents as these were originally granted with the View of being a JOBB for the Interest of a particular Person, to the Damage of the Publick: Whatever Profit must arise to the Patentee, was surely meant at best but as a secondary Motive; and since somebody must be a Gainer, the Choice of the Person was made either by Favour, or SOMETHING ELSE, or by the Pretence of Merit and Honesty: This Argument returns so often and strongly into my Head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely His Majesty, when he consented to the passing of this Patent, *Conceived* he was doing an Act of Grace to His Most Loyal Subjects of *Ireland*, without any Regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *Instrument*: But the People of *Ireland* think this Patent (intended NO DOUBT for

their Good) to be a most intolerable Grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed, without an open Avowal that his Profit is preferred, not only before the *Interests*, but the very *Safety* and *Being* of a great Kingdom; and a Kingdom distinguished for its Loyalty, perhaps above all others upon Earth: Not turned from its Duty by the *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords abolished at a Stroke; by the Hardships of the Act of Navigation newly enforced; by all possible Obstructions in Trade*; and by a hundred other Instances, enough to fill this Paper: Nor was there ever among US the least Attempt towards an *Insurrection* in Favour of the PRETENDER. Therefore whatever Justice a FREE PEOPLE can claim, we have at least an *Equal* Title to it with our Brethren in *England*; and whatever Grace a good Prince can bestow on the most *Loyal Subjects*, we have Reason to expect it: Neither has this Kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *Single*, *Rapacious*, *Obscure*, *Ignominious* PROJECTOR.

AMONG other Clauses mentioned in this *Patent*, to shew how Advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seems to be of a *Singular Nature*: That the *Patentee* shall be obliged during his Term, *to pay Eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown, and Two hundred Pounds a Year to the Comptroller*. I have heard indeed that the King's Council do always consider, in the passing of a Patent, whether it will be of Advantage to the Crown; but I have likewise heard, that it is at the same Time considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other Persons or Bodies Politick: However, although the Attorney and Solicitor be Servants to the King, and therefore bound to consult his Majesty's Interest; yet I am under some Doubt, whether Eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown would be equivalent to the Ruin of a Kingdom: It would be far better for us to have paid Eight thousand Pounds a Year into His Majesty's Coffers, in the midst of all our Taxes (which, in Proportion, are greater in this Kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the War) than purchase such an Addition to the Revenue at the Price of our UTTER UNDOING.

BUT here it is plain, that Fourteen thousand Pounds are to be paid by *Wood*, only as a *Small Circumstantial* Charge for the Purchase of his Patent: What were his other *Visible Costs* I know

not; and what were his *Latent*, is variously conjectured: But he must be surely a Man of some wonderful Merit. Hath he saved any other Kingdom at his own Expence, to give him a Title of Re-imbursing himself by the *Destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *Longitude*, or the *Universal Medicine*? No; but he hath found out the *Philosopher*'s *Stone* after a new Manner, by *Debasing* of *Copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *Gold*.

WHEN the Two Houses represented to his Majesty, that this *Patent* to WOOD *was obtained in a clandestine Manner*; surely the Committee could not think the Parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common Forms, and run through every Office where Fees and Perquisites were due. They knew very well, that Persons in Places were no Enemies to Grants; and that the Officers of the Crown could not be kept in the Dark. But the **late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed that it was a *Secret* to him; (and who will doubt of his VERACITY, especially when he swore to a Person of Quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these Half-pence.) It was a *Secret* to the People of *Ireland*, who were to be the *Only Sufferers*; and those who best knew the State of the Kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an Affair, were wholly Strangers to it.

IT is allowed by the *Report* that this *Patent* was passed without the Knowledge of the Chief Governor or Officers of *Ireland*: And it is there elaborately shewn, that *Former Patents have passed in the same Manner*, and *are good in Law*. I shall not dispute the Legality of Patents, but am ready to suppose it in His Majesty's Power to grant a Patent for stamping round Bits of Copper to every Subject he hath. Therefore to lay aside the Point of Law, I would only put the Question; whether in *Reason* and *Justice* it would not have been proper, in an Affair upon which the *Welfare of the Kingdom depends*, that the said Kingdom should have received timely Notice; and the Matter not be carried on between the *Patentee* and the *Officers of the* CROWN, who were to be the only Gainers by it.

THE Parliament, who in Matters of this Nature are the most able and faithful Counsellors, did represent this Grant to be *de-*

* *Duke of* Grafton.

structive of Trade, and Dangerous to the Properties of the People; to which the only Answer is, That *the King hath a Prerogative to make such a Grant.*

IT is asserted, that in the Patent to *Knox*, His *Half-pence, are made and declared the Current Coin of the Kingdom*; whereas in this to *Wood*, there is only a *Power given to issue them to such as will receive them.* The Authors of the *Report*, I think, do not affirm that the King can by Law Declare *any thing* to be current Money by His Letters Patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if *Knox*'s Patent contained in it Powers contrary to Law, why is it mentioned as a Precedent in His Majesty's *Just and Merciful Reign*? But although that Clause be not in *Wood*'s Patent, yet possibly there are others, the Legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby *a Power is given to* William Wood *to break into Houses in search of any Coin made in Imitation of His.* This may perhaps be affirmed to be Illegal and Dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject: Yet this is a *Precedent* taken from *Knox*'s Patent, where the same Power is granted; and is a strong Instance what Uses may be sometimes made of *Precedents.*

BUT although before the passing of this Patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any Persons of this Kingdom, or make the least Enquiry whether Copper Money were wanted among us: Yet now at length, when the Matter is over, when the Patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already coined Seventeen thousand Pounds, and hath his Tools and Implements prepared to coin *Six times* as much more; the Committee hath been pleased to make this Affair the Subject of Enquiry: *Wood* is permitted to produce his Evidences, which consist as I have already observed of Four in Number; whereof *Coleby*, *B*—— and Mr. *Finley* the Banker are Three. And these were to prove that Copper Money was extremely wanted in *Ireland.* The first had been out of the Kingdom almost Twenty Years, from the Time that he was tryed for *robbing the Treasury*; and therefore his *Knowledge* and *Credibility* are equal.

MR. *Finley*, one of the other Witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted Copper Money or no; but all his Intention was to buy a certain Quantity from *Wood* at a *large Discount*, and sell them as well as he could; by

which he hoped to get two or three Thousand Pounds for himself.

BUT, suppose there were not one single Half-penny of Copper Coin in this whole Kingdom; (which Mr. *Wood* seems to intend, unless we will come to his Terms, as appears by employing his Emissaries to buy up our old ones, at a Penny in the Shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real Evil* to us; although it might be some *Inconvenience*. We have many Sorts of small Silver Coins, to which they are Strangers in *England*; such as the *French Three-pences*, *Four-pence Half-pennies*, and *Eight pence-Farthings*, the *Scotch Five-pences* and *Ten-pences*; besides, their *Twenty-pences*, and *Three* and *Four-pences*, by which we are able to make Change, to a Half-penny, of almost any Piece of Gold or Silver; and if we were driven to the Expedient of a *Sealed Card*, with the little Gold or Silver still remaining; it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood*'s adulterated Copper; which he is neither *obliged* by his *Patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his *Estate*, to make good.

THE Report farther tells us, it *must be admitted that Letters Patents, under the great Seal of* Great-Britain, *for coining Copper-Money for* Ireland, *are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any Liberty, or Privilege of his Subjects of* Ireland. First, we desire to know, why his Majesty's *Prerogative* might not have been as well asserted, by passing this Patent in *Ireland*, and subjecting the several Conditions of the Contract to the Inspection of those, who are only concerned; as was formerly done in the only Precedents for Patents granted for coining for this Kingdom, since the mixt Money in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, during the Difficulties of a Rebellion: Whereas now, upon the greatest Imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to *England* with our Complaints; where it hath been, for some Time, the Fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again, the *Report* says, that *such Patents are obligatory*. After long thinking, I am not able to find out what can possibly be meant here by this Word *Obligatory*: This Patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his Coin, nor us to take it; or, if he did the latter, it would be so far void, because no Patent can *oblige* the Subject

against Law; unless an illegal Patent passed in *one* Kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

LASTLY, it is added, that *such Patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any Liberty, or Privilege of the King's Subjects of* Ireland. If this Proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any Limitation, either expressed or implyed; it must follow, that a King of *England* may, at any Time, coin Copper Money for *Ireland*; and oblige his Subjects here to take a Piece of Copper under the Value of half a Farthing, for half a Crown, as was practised by the late King *James*; and even without that arbitrary Prince's Excuse, from the Necessity and Exigences of his Affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor evasive of any Liberties, or Privileges of the Subjects of* Ireland; it ought to have been expressed what our *Liberties* and *Privileges* are; and whether we have any at all; for in specifying the Word IRELAND, instead of saying *his Majesty's Subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same Foot with our Fellow-Subjects in *England*; which, however the Practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining*'s Act deprived us of our *Liberty*, but only changed the Manner of passing Laws here; (which however, was a Power most indirectly obtained) by leaving the Negative to the two Houses of Parliament. But, waving all Controversies relating to the Legislature; no Person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the People of *Ireland* have not the same Title to the Benefits of the *Common Law*, with the rest of his Majesty's Subjects; and, therefore, whatever Liberties or Privileges the People of *England* enjoy by COMMON LAW, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that, in my humble Opinion, the Word *Ireland* standing in that Proposition, was, in the mildest Interpretation, a *Lapse of the Pen.*

THE *Report* farther asserts, that *the Precedents are many, wherein Cases of great Importance to* Ireland, *and which immediately affected the Interests of that Kingdom, such as Warrants, Orders, and Directions, by the Authority of the King and his* Predecessors, *have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference, or Advice of his Majesty's Officers of* Ireland; *which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually complyed with, and obeyed.* It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because, it may prove an

eternal Source of Discontent. However, among all these *Precedents*, there is not one of a Patent for coining Money for *Ireland*.

THERE is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of *Precedents*. If a Jobb is to be done, and, upon searching Records, you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to justify the Legality of it, by producing his *Precedents*; without ever considering the Motives and Circumstances that first introduced them; the Necessity, or Turbulence, or Iniquity of Times; the Corruptions of Ministers, or the arbitrary Disposition of the Prince then reigning: And I have been told, by Persons eminent in the Law, that the worst Actions which human Nature is capable of, may be justified by the same Doctrine. How the first *Precedents* began of determining Cases of the highest Importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its Interest, without any previous Reference or Advice to the King's Officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this Kingdom was entirely reduced, by the Submission of *Tyrone*, in the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, there was a Period of four Hundred Years, which was a various Scene of War and Peace, between the *English* Pale and the *Irish* Natives; and the Government of that Part of this Island which lay in the *English* Hands, was, in many Things, under the immediate Administration of the King: Silver and Copper were often coined here among us; and once, at least, upon great Necessity, a mixt or base Metal was sent from *England*. The Reign of King *James* I. was employed in settling the Kingdom, after *Tyrone*'s Rebellion; and this Nation flourished extreamly, till the Time of the Massacre, 1641. In that difficult Juncture of Affairs, the Nobility and Gentry coined their own Plate here in *Dublin*.

BY all that I can discover, the Copper Coin of *Ireland*, for three Hundred Years past, consisted of small Pence and Half-pence; which particular Men had Licence to coin, and were current only within certain Towns and Districts, according to the personal Credit of the Owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many Sorts: Neither have I heard of any Patent granted for coining Copper for *Ireland*, till the Reign of King *Charles* II, which was in the Year 1680, to *George Leg*, Lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by King *James* II, in

the first Year of his Reign, to *John Knox*. Both Patents were passed in *Ireland*; and in both, the Patentees were bound to receive their Coin again, from any that would offer them Twenty Shillings of it; for which they were obliged to pay Gold or Silver.

THE Patents both of Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, were referred to the Attorney-General here, and a Report made accordingly, and both, as I have already said, were passed in this Kingdom. *Knox* had only a Patent for the Remainder of the Term granted to Lord *Dartmouth*; the Patent expired in 1701, and upon a Petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed, the Matter was referred hither; and upon the Report of the Attorney and Sollicitor, that it was not for his Majesty's Service, or the Interest of the Nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by King *William*. It should, therefore, seem very *extraordinary*, that a Patent for coining Copper Half-pence, intended and professed for the Good of the Kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that Kingdom, for the Good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the Application of a *poor*, *private*, *obscure Mechanick*; and a Patent of such a Nature, that as soon as ever the Kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it, as *ruinous* and *destructive*. The Representatives of the Nation in Parliament, and the Privy-Council, address the King to have it recalled; yet the Patentee, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this Patent approved; and his private Interest shall weigh down the Application of a whole Kingdom. St. *Paul* says, *All Things are* lawful, *but all Things are not* expedient. We are answered, that this Patent is *lawful*; but is it *expedient?* We read, that the high Priest said, *It was expedient that one Man should die for the People*; and this was a most wicked Proposition. But that a *whole Nation* should *die for one Man*, was never heard of before.

BUT, because much Weight is laid on the *Precedents* of other Patents, for *coining Copper for* Ireland; I will set this Matter in as clear a Light as I can. Whoever hath read the *Report*, will be apt to think that a Dozen Precedents, at least, could be produced of Copper coined for *Ireland*, by Virtue of Patents passed in *England*; and that the Coinage was there too; whereas, I am confident, there cannot be one *Precedent* shewn of a Patent passed in

England for coining Copper for *Ireland*, for above an Hundred Years past; and if there were any before, it must be in Times of Confusion. The only *Patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned, to Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*; the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now, let us compare these Patents with that granted to *Wood*. First, the Patent to *Knox*, which was under the same Conditions as that granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, was passed in *Ireland*; the Government, and the *Attorney* and *Sollicitor-General*, making Report that it would be useful to this Kingdom.

THE Patent was passed with the Advice of the *King's Council* here; the *Patentee* was obliged to receive his Coin from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give *Gold* and *Silver* for it: Lastly, the *Patentee* was to pay only 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Ann.* to the Crown. Then, as to the Execution of that Patent: First, I find the Half-pence were *milled*; which, as it is of great Use to prevent Counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by *Wood*) so it was an Addition to the Charge of Coinage. And as for the Weight and Goodness of the Metal, I have several Half-pence now by me, many of which weigh a ninth Part more than those coined by *Wood*; and bear the Fire and Hammer a great deal better; and which is no Trifle, the Impression fairer and deeper. I grant, indeed, that many of the latter Coinage yield in Weight to some of *Wood*'s, by a *Fraud* natural to such *Patentees*; but not so immediately after the Grant, and before the Coin grew current: For, in this Circumstance, Mr. *Wood* must serve for a *Precedent* in *Future Times*.

LET us now examine this new Patent granted to *William Wood*. It passed upon very false Suggestions of his own, and of a few Confederates: It passed in *England* without the least Reference hither. It passed unknown to the very *Lord Lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is empowered to coin One Hundred and Eight Thousand Pounds, *and all the* Officers *in the Kingdom* (Civil and Military) *are commanded* in the Report to countenance and assist him. *Knox* had only Power to utter what we would take, and was obliged *to receive his Coin back again at our Demand*, and to *enter into Security for so doing*. *Wood*'s Half-pence are not *Milled*, and therefore more easily counterfeited by *himself* as well as by

others. *Wood* pays a thousand Pounds *per Ann.* for fourteen Years; *Knox* paid only 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Ann.* for 21 Years.

IT was the *Report* that set me the Example of making a Comparison between those two Patents wherein the *Committee* was grosly misled by the false Representation of *William Wood*; as it was by another Assertion, that Seven Hundred Tons of Copper were coined during the 21 Years of Lord *Dartmouth*'s and *Knox*'s Patents. Such a Quantity of Copper at the Rate of 2 *s.* 8 *d. per* Pound, would amount to about an Hundred and Ninety Thousand Pounds; which was very near as much as the current Cash of the Kingdom in those Days: Yet, during that Period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much Copper Coin; and for several Years there was no coining at all: Besides, I am assured, that upon enquiring into the Custom-house Books, all the Copper imported into this Kingdom, from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight Years of the 21 (besides one Year allowed for the Troubles) did not exceed 47 Tuns: And we cannot suppose even that small Quantity to have been wholly applyed to Coinage: So that I believe there was never any Comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the Design for which it was produced.

THE Psalmist reckons it an Effect of God's Anger, when *he selleth his People for Nought, and taketh no Money for them.* That we have greatly offended *God* by the Wickedness of our Lives, is not to be disputed: But our King we have not offended in Word or Deed; and although he be *God*'s Vicegerent upon Earth, he will not punish us for any Offences, except those which we shall commit against his Legal Authority, his sacred Person (which God preserve,) or the Laws of the Land.

THE Report is very profuse in Arguments, that *Ireland* is in great Want of Copper Money: Who were the Witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: But in the Name of God who are to be *Judges?* Does not the Nation best know its own Wants? Both Houses of Parliament, the Privy-Council and the whole Body of the People, declare the contrary. Or let the Wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr. *Wood*: We know our own *Wants* but too well: They are *Many* and *Grievous* to be born; but quite of another kind. Let *England* be satisfied: As Things go, they will in a short Time have all our Gold and Sil-

ver, and may keep their Adulterate Copper at Home; for we are determined not to purchase it with our Manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciously offered to accept. Our *Wants* are not so bad by an Hundredth Part as the Method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tryed his Faculty in *New-England*; and I hope he will meet at least with an EQUAL RECEPTION here: What *That* was I leave to publick Intelligence. I am supposing a wild Case; that if there should be any Person already receiving a monstrous Pension out of this Kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *Patent*, they have either not well consulted their own Interests, or *Wood* must put more Dross into his Copper, and still diminish its Weight.

UPON *Wood*'s Complaint that the Officers of the King's Revenue here had already given Orders to all the inferior Officers not to receive any of his Coin; the *Report* says, That *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding*, and being contrary to the Powers given in the Patent, the *Committee* say, They *cannot advise His Majesty to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said Coin as hath been desired in the Addresses of both Houses*; but on the contrary, they *think it both Just and Reasonable that the King should immediately give Orders to the Commissioners of the Revenue, &c. to revoke all Orders, &c. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said Coin*: And accordingly, we are told, such Orders are arrived. Now this was a Cast of *Wood*'s Politicks; for his Information was wholly False and Groundless; which he knew very well; and that the Commissioners of the Revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their Employments too well to have taken such a Step: But *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such Orders of *Revocation* would be an open Declaration of the Crown in his Favour; would put the Government here under a Difficulty; would make a Noise; and, possibly, create some Terror in the poor People of *Ireland*. And one great Point he hath gained; that although any Orders of Revocation will be needless, yet a new Order is to be sent, and perhaps already here, to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and all the King's Officers in *Ireland*; that *Wood*'s *Half-pence be suffered and permitted, without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation or Denial of any of the King's*

Officers or Ministers whatsoever, to pass and be received as CURRENT MONEY, *by such as shall be* willing *to receive them.* In this Order there is no Exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *Officers* both *Civil* and *Military*; from the *Lord High Chancellor* to a *Justice* of *Peace*; and from the *General* to an *Ensign*: So that *Wood*'s Project is not likely to fail for Want of *Managers* enough. For my own part, as Things stand, I have but little Regret to find my self out of the *Number*; and therefore I shall continue in all Humility to exhort and warn my Fellow-Subjects never to receive or utter this Coin, which will reduce the Kingdom to Beggary by much *quicker and larger Steps*, than have hitherto been taken.

BUT it is needless to argue any longer. The Matter is come to an Issue. His Majesty, *Pursuant to the Law*, hath left the *Field* open between *Wood* and the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath Liberty to *Offer* his Coin, and we have *Law*, *Reason*, *Liberty*, and *Necessity* to *Refuse* it: A knavish Jockey may ride an old foundred Jade about the Market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the Words *Voluntary* and *Willing to receive it* will be understood, and applied in their true natural Meaning, *as commonly understood by* PROTESTANTS. For if a *Fierce Captain* comes to my Shop to buy Six Yards of Scarlet Cloth, followed by a Porter laden with a Sack of *Wood*'s Coin upon his Shoulders; if we are agreed about the Price, and my Scarlet lies ready cut upon the Counter; if he then gives me the *Word of Command* to receive my Money in *Wood*'s Coin, and calls me a *Disaffected Jacobite Dog* for refusing it; (although I am as loyal a Subject as himself, and *without Hire*) and thereupon seizes my Cloth, leaving me the Price in this Odious Copper, and bids me take my Remedy: In this Case, I shall hardly be brought to think that I am *left to my own Will*. I shall therefore on such Occasions, first order the Porter aforesaid to go off with his Pack; and then see the Money in *Silver* and *Gold* in my Possession before I Cut or Measure my Cloth. But if a *Common Soldier* drinks his Pot first, and then offers Payment in *Wood*'s Half-pence, the *Landlady* may be under some Difficulty: For if she complains to his *Captain* or *Ensign*, they are likewise OFFICERS, included in this general Order for encouraging these Half-pence to pass as CURRENT MONEY. If she goes to

a Justice of Peace, he is also an *Officer*; to whom this general Order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my Practice, which I have already begun; and be paid for her Goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content, for some Reasons, that the *Military Gentlemen* had been excepted by Name; because I have heard it said, that their Discipline is best confined within their own District.

HIS Majesty, in the Conclusion of his Answer to the Address of the House of Lords, against *Wood*'s Coin, is pleased to say; that *He will do every Thing in his Power to the Satisfaction of His People*. It should seem therefore, that the Recalling the Patent is not to be understood as a Thing *in his Power*: But however, since the Law doth not oblige us to receive this Coin; and consequently the Patent leaves it to our voluntary Choice: There is nothing remaining to preserve us from Ruin, but that the whole Kingdom should continue in a firm determinate Resolution never to receive or utter this FATAL *Coin*: After which, let the *Officers* to whom these Orders are directed, (I would willingly except the *Military*) come with their *Exhortations*, their *Arguments*, and their *Eloquence*, to persuade us to find our Interest in our Undoing. Let *Wood* and his *Accomplices* Travel about the Country with *Cart-Loads* of their *Ware*, and see who will take it off their Hands: There will be no Fear of his being robbed; for a *Highway-Man* would scorn to touch it.

I AM only in Pain how the *Commissioners* of the *Revenue* will proceed in this Juncture; because I am told they are obliged by Act of Parliament, to take nothing but *Gold* and *Silver* in Payment for His Majesty's *Customs*: And I think they cannot justly offer this Coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

THE Sum of the whole is this. The *Committee advises the King to send immediate Orders to all His Officers here, that* WOOD'S *Coin be suffered and permitted without any Let, Suit, Trouble, &c. to pass and be received as* CURRENT MONEY, *by such as shall be* WILLING *to receive the same*. It is probable, that the first *Willing Receivers* may be those who *Must Receive it whether they will or no*, at least under the Penalty of losing an Office. But the *Landed Undepending Men*, the *Merchants*, the *Shop-keepers* and Bulk of the People, I

hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the Consequence be? The Owners will sell it for as much as they can get. *Wood*'s Half-pence will come to be offered for Six a Penny (yet then he will be a sufficient Gainer) and the *Necessary Receivers* will be Losers of Two Thirds in their *Salaries* or *Pay*.

THIS puts me in Mind of a Passage I was told many Years ago in *England*. At a Quarter-Sessions in *Leicester*, the Justices had wisely decreed to take off a Half-penny in a Quart from the Price of Ale. One of them who came in after the Thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus, *Gentlemen, You have made an Order, that* Ale *should be sold in our County for three Half-pence a Quart: I desire you will now make another to appoint who must drink it, for* BY *G*—— I WILL NOT.

I MUST beg Leave to caution your *Lordships* and *Worships* in one Particular. *Wood* hath graciously promised to *Load* us at present only with Forty thousand Pounds of his Coin, *'till the Exigencies of the Kingdom require the Rest*. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. *Wood* to be a Judge of your EXIGENCIES. While there is one Piece of Silver or Gold left in the Kingdom, he will call it an EXIGENCY. He will double his present *Quantum* by Stealth as soon as he can: He will pour his own *Raps* and *Counterfeits* upon us: *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own Coiners at home be behind them: To confirm which, I have now in my Pocket a *Rap* or Counterfeit Half-penny in Imitation of his, but so ill performed, that in my Conscience, I believe, it is not of his Coining.

I MUST now desire your *Lordships* and *Worships* that you will give great Allowance for this long undigested Paper. I find my self to have gone into several Repetitions, which were the Effects of haste, while new Thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every Paragraph in the *Report*; which although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the Spirit of a Pleader, who can find the most plausible Topicks in behalf of his Client; yet there was no great Skill required to detect the many Mistakes contained in it; which, however, are by no Means to be charged upon the Right Honourable Committee, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent Representations of *Wood* and

his Accomplices. I desire one Particular may dwell upon your Minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; That after all the Weight laid upon *Precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *Report*, of a Patent for Coining Copper in *England* to pass in *Ireland*; and only two Patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by References to the King's Council here; both less advantageous to the Coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both, *Securities given to receive the Coin at every Call, and give Gold and Silver in Lieu of it*. This demonstrates the most flagrant Falshood, and Impudence of *Wood*; by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable Committee his Instruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant Gain) to ruin a Kingdom, which has deserved *quite different Treatment*.

I AM very sensible, that such a Work as I have undertaken, might have worthily employed a much better Pen. But when a House is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the Family, runs first to stop the Door. All the Assistance I had, were some Informations from an *eminent Person*; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a Piece with my own Productions; and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the Case of *David*, who *could not move in the Armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a Sling and a Stone*. And I may say for *Wood*'s Honour, as well as my own, that he resembles *Goliah* in many Circumstances, very applicable to the present Purpose: For *Goliah* had *a Helmet of* BRASS *upon his Head, and he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and the Weight of the Coat was five Thousand Shekles of* BRASS, *and he had Greaves of* BRASS *upon his Legs, and a Target of* BRASS *between his Shoulders*. In short, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over BRASS; and *he defied the Armies of the living God. Goliah*'s Conditions of Combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood: If he prevail against us, then shall we be his Servants*. But if it happen that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other Part of the Conditions; he shall never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any *honest* Man's Shop.

I WILL conclude with my humble Desire and Request, which I made in my second Letter; that your *Lordships* and *Worships*

would please to order a * *Declaration* to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest Terms, your Resolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood*'s Half-pence or Farthings; and forbidding your Tenants to receive them. That the said *Declaration* may be signed by as many Persons as possible, who have Estates in this Kingdom; and be sent down to your several Tenants aforesaid.

AND if the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence should continue until next *Quarter-Sessions*, (which I hope it will not) the Gentlemen of every County will then have a fair Opportunity of declaring against them, with Unanimity and Zeal.

I am with the greatest Respect,

(May it please your Lordships and Worships)

Aug. 25, 1724. *Your most dutiful and Obedient Servant,*

M. B.

* N.B. *A Declaration, pursuant to this Request, was signed soon after by the most considerable Persons of the Kingdom, which was universally spread, and of great Use.*

A (4

LETTER

TO THE

WHOLE People

OF

IRELAND.

By M. B. *Drapier.*
AUTHOR of the LETTER to the
SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.

DUBLIN.

Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's-Court* in *Fishamble-Street.*

LETTER IV. To the whole People of *IRELAND*.

N. B. *This was the Letter against which the Lord Lieutenant* (Carteret) *and Council, issued a Proclamation, offering three Hundred Pounds to discover the Author; and for which,* Harding *the Printer was tried before one* Whitshed, *then Chief Justice: But the noble Jury would not find the Bill; nor would any Person discover the Author.*

My dear Countrymen,

HAVING already written three *Letters*, upon so disagreeable a Subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *Half-pence*; I conceived my Task was at an End: But, I find that Cordials must be frequently applied to weak Constitutions, *Political* as well as *Natural*. A People long used to Hardships, lose by Degrees the very Notions of *Liberty*; they look upon themselves as Creatures at Mercy; and that all Impositions laid on them by a stronger Hand, are, in the Phrase of the *Report*, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *Poverty* and *Lowness of Spirit*, to which a *Kingdom* may be subject, as well as a *particular Person*. And when *Esau* came fainting from the Field, at the Point to die, it is no Wonder that he sold his *Birth-Right for a Mess of Pottage*.

I THOUGHT I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want Instruction, by what Methods they might safely proceed, whenever this *Coin* should be offered to them: And, I believe, there hath not been, for many Ages, an Example of any Kingdom so firmly united in a Point of great Importance, as this of ours is at present, against that detestable Fraud. But, however, it so happens, that some weak People begin to be alarmed a-new, by Rumours industriously spread. *Wood* prescribes to the News-Mongers in *London*, what they are to write. In one of their Papers published here by some obscure Printer, (and certainly with a bad Design) we are told, that the *Papists in* Ireland *have entered into an Association against his Coin*; although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the Matter: So that

the two Houses of Parliament, the Privy-Council, the great Number of Corporations, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand-Juries, and principal Gentlemen of several Counties, are stigmatized in a Lump, under the Name of *Papists*.

THIS Impostor and his Crew, do likewise give out, that, by refusing to receive his Dross for Sterling, we *dispute the King's Prerogative; are grown ripe for Rebellion, and ready to shake off the Dependency of* Ireland *upon the Crown of* England. To Countenance which Reports, he hath published a Paragraph in another News-Paper, to let us know, that *the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his Half-pence.*

I INTREAT you, my dear Countrymen, not to be under the least Concern upon these and the like Rumours; which are no more than the last Howls of a Dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These Calumnies are the only Reserve that is left him. For surely, our continued and (almost) unexampled Loyalty, will never be called in Question, for not suffering our selves to be robbed of all that we have, by one obscure *Ironmonger*.

AS to disputing the King's *Prerogative*, give me Leave to explain to those who are ignorant, what the Meaning of that Word *Prerogative* is.

THE Kings of these Realms enjoy several Powers, wherein the Laws have not interposed: So, they can make War and Peace without the Consent of Parliament; and this is a very great *Prerogative*. But if the Parliament doth not approve of the War, the King must bear the Charge of it out of his own Purse; and this is as great a Check on the Crown. So the King hath a *Prerogative* to coin Money, without Consent of Parliament: But he cannot compel the Subject to take that Money, except it be Sterling, Gold or Silver; because, herein he is limited by Law. Some Princes have, indeed, extended their *Prerogative* further than the Law allowed them: Wherein, however, the Lawyers of succeeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the Truth, it is only of late Times that *Prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For, whoever reads the Histories of *England*, will find that some former Kings, and

those none of the worst, have, upon several Occasions, ventured to controul the Laws, with very little Ceremony or Scruple, even later than the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In her Reign, that pernicious Counsel of sending *base Money* hither, very narrowly failed of losing the Kingdom; being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the Council, and the whole Body of the *English* here: So that soon after her Death, it was recalled by her Successor, and lawful Money paid in Exchange.

HAVING thus given you some Notion of what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*, as far as a *Tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the Opinion of the great Lord *Bacon*; that, *as God governs the World by the settled Laws of Nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those Laws, but upon high important Occasions: So, among earthly Princes, those are the Wisest and the Best, who govern by the known Laws of the Country, and seldomest make Use of their* Prerogative.

NOW, here you may see that the vile Accusation of *Wood* and his Accomplices, charging us with *disputing the King's Prerogative*, by refusing his Brass, can have no Place; because compelling the Subject to take any Coin, which is not Sterling, is no Part of the King's *Prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his People to dispute it; as well from that inviolable Loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the Treatment we might in such a Case justly expect from some, who seem to think, we have neither *common Sense*, nor *common Senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *Fellow-Subjects*, and not our *Masters*. One great Merit I am sure we have, which those of *English* Birth can have no Pretence to; that our Ancestors reduced this Kingdom to the Obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a worse Climate, the Privilege of being governed by Laws to which we do not consent; a ruined Trade, a House of *Peers* without *Jurisdiction*; almost an Incapacity for all Employments, and the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence.

BUT we are so far from disputing the King's *Prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath Power to give a Patent to any Man, for setting his Royal Image and Superscription upon whatever Materials he pleases; and Liberty to the Patentee to offer them

in any Country from *England* to *Japan*; only attended with one small Limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them.*

UPON these Considerations, I was ever against all Recourse to *England* for a Remedy against the present impending Evil; especially, when I observed, that the Addresses of both Houses, after long Expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in Favour of *Wood*; upon which, I made some Observations in a former Letter; and might at least have made as many more: For, it is a Paper of as singular a Nature as I ever beheld.

BUT I mistake; for before this *Report* was made, his Majesty's *most gracious Answer* to the House of Lords was sent over, and printed; wherein there are these Words, *granting the Patent for coining Half-pence and Farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King *Charles* II, and King *James* II, (AND THEY ONLY) did grant Patents for this Purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their Patents were passed under the great Seal of *Ireland*, by References to *Ireland*; the Copper to be coined in *Ireland*, the Patentee was bound, on Demand, to receive his Coin back in *Ireland*, and pay Silver and Gold in Return. *Wood*'s Patent was made under the great Seal of *England*, the Brass coined in *England*, not the least Reference made to *Ireland*; the Sum immense, and the Patentee under no Obligation to receive it again, and give good Money for it: This I only mention, because, in my private Thoughts, I have sometimes made a Query, whether the *Penner* of those Words in his Majesty's *most gracious Answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several Circumstances; which, in my poor Opinion, seem to make a Difference.

LET me now say something concerning the other great Cause of some People's Fear; as *Wood* has taught the *London* News-Writer to express it: That *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle* Wood's *Half-pence.*

WE know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants, for several Years past, have not thought this Kingdom *worthy the Honour of their Residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's Business; which consequently *wanted no Speed in the Dispatch.* And therefore, it naturally fell into most Mens Thoughts,

that a new Governor coming at an *unusual* Time, must portend some *unusual* Business to be done; especially, if the common Report be true; that the Parliament prorogued to I know not when, is, by a new Summons (revoking that Prorogation) to assemble soon after his Arrival: For which extraordinary Proceeding, the Lawyers on t'other Side the Water, have, by great good Fortune, found two *Precedents*.

ALL this being granted, it can never enter into my Head, that so *little a Creature as Wood* could find Credit enough with the King and his Ministers, to have the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a Hurry, upon his Errand.

FOR, let us take the whole Matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the Refinements of some People, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a Patent granted under the great Seal of *England*, upon false Suggestions, to one *William Wood*, for coining Copper Half-pence for *Ireland*: The Parliament here, upon Apprehensions of the worst Consequences from the said Patent, address the King to have it recalled: This is refused, and a Committee of the Privy-Council *report* to his Majesty, that *Wood* has performed the Conditions of his Patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his Half-pence; no Man being obliged to receive them; the People here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one Man; resolving they will have nothing to do with his Ware. By this plain Account of the Fact, it is manifest, that the King and his Ministry are wholly out of the Case; and the Matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any Man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great Haste, before the ordinary Time, and a Parliament summoned, by anticipating a Prorogation; merely to put an Hundred Thousand Pounds into the Pocket of a *Sharper*, by the Ruin of a most loyal Kingdom?

BUT supposing all this to be true. By what Arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the same Parliament, which addressed with so much Zeal and Earnestness against this Evil; to pass it into a Law? I am sure their Opinion of *Wood* and his Project is not mended since their last Prorogation: And supposing those *Methods* should be used, which, *Detractors* tell us, have been sometimes put in Practice for *gaining Votes*; it is well

known, that in this Kingdom there are few Employments to be given; and if there were more; it is *as well known* to whose Share they must fall.

BUT, because great Numbers of you are altogether ignorant in the Affairs of your Country, I will tell you some Reasons, why there are so few Employments to be disposed of in this Kingdom. All considerable Offices for Life here, are possessed by those, to whom the Reversions were granted; and these have been generally Followers of the Chief Governors, or Persons who had Interest in the Court of *England*. So the Lord *Berkely* of *Stratton*, holds that great Office of *Master of the Rolls*; the Lord *Palmerstown* is *First Remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per Ann.* One *Dodington*, Secretary to the Earl of *Pembroke*, begged the Reversion of *Clerk of the Pells*, worth 2500 *l.* a Year, which he now enjoys by the Death of the Lord *Newtown*. Mr. *Southwell* is Secretary of State, and the Earl of *Burlington* Lord High Treasurer of *Ireland* by Inheritance. These are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay the Reversion of several Employments during Pleasure are granted the same Way. This among many others, is a Circumstance whereby the Kingdom of *Ireland* is distinguished from all other Nations upon Earth; and makes it so difficult an Affair to get into a Civil Employ, that Mr. *Addison* was forced to purchase an old obscure Place, called *Keeper of the Records in* Bermingham's *Tower*, of Ten Pounds a Year, and to get a Salary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the Records there are not worth Half a Crown, either for Curiosity or Use. And we lately saw a * *Favourite Secretary*, descend to be *Master of the Revels*, which by his *Credit and Extortion* he hath made *Pretty Considerable*. I say nothing of the Under-Treasurership worth about 9000 *l.* a Year; nor the Commissioners of the Revenue, Four of whom generally live in *England*: For I think none of these are granted in Reversion. But the Jest is, that I have known upon Occasion, some of these absent Officers as *Keen* against the Interest of *Ireland*, as if they had never been indebted to Her for a *Single Groat*.

I CONFESS, I have been sometimes tempted to wish that this

* *Mr.* Hopkins, *Secretary to the Duke of* **Grafton.**

Project of *Wood* might succeed; because I reflected with some Pleasure what a *Jolly Crew* it would bring over among us of *Lords* and *Squires*, and *Pensioners* of *Both Sexes*, and Officers *Civil* and *Military*; where we should live together as merry and sociable as Beggars; only with this one Abatement, that we should neither have *Meat* to feed, nor *Manufactures* to Cloath us; unless we could be content to *Prance* about in *Coats of Mail*; or eat Brass as Ostritches do Iron.

I RETURN from this Digression, to that which gave me the Occasion of making it: And I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of *Ireland* were as *Temptable* as any *other* Assembly, *within a Mile of* Christendom (which God forbid) yet the *Managers* must of Necessity fail for want of *Tools* to work with. But I will yet go one Step further, by Supposing that a Hundred new Employments were erected on Purpose to gratify *Compliers*: Yet still an insuperable Difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *Money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *Town* nor *Country Party*; and it is not improbable, that a Gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own Estate*, which brings him *Gold* and *Silver*, than with the Addition of an *Employment*; when his *Rents* and *Sallary* must both be paid in *Wood*'s Brass, at above Eighty *per Cent*. Discount.

FOR these, and many other Reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least Apprehensions, from the sudden Expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our present hearty Disposition; to alter which, there is no suitable Temptation can possibly be offered: And if, as I have often asserted from the best Authority, the *Law* hath not left a *Power* in the *Crown* to force any Money, except Sterling, upon the Subject; much less can the Crown *devolve* such a *Power* upon *another*.

THIS I speak with the utmost Respect to the *Person* and *Dignity* of his Excellency the Lord *Carteret*; whose Character was lately given me, by a Gentleman that hath known him from his first Appearance in the World: That Gentleman describes him as a young Man of great Accomplishments, excellent Learning, Regular in his Life, and of much Spirit and Vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal Secretary of State; and is now about the 37th Year of his Age

appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From such a Governour this Kingdom may reasonably hope for as much Prosperity, as *under so many Discouragements* it can be capable of receiving.

IT is true indeed, that within the Memory of Man, there have been Governors of so much Dexterity, as to carry Points of terrible Consequence to this Kingdom, by their Power with *those who were in Office*; and by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths*, *Affability*, and even with *Dinners*. If *Wood*'s Brass had, in those Times, been upon the *Anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what Methods would have been taken. *Depending* Persons would have been told in plain Terms, that it was a *Service expected from them, under Pain of the publick Business being put into more complying Hands*. Others would be allured by *Promises*. To the *Country Gentlemen*, besides *good Words*, *Burgundy* and *Closeting*; it might, perhaps, have been hinted, how *kindly it would be taken to comply with a Royal Patent, although it were not compulsory*. That if any Inconveniences ensued, it might be made up with other *Graces or Favours hereafter*: That *Gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust* England: They would be desired to *think of some good Bills for encouraging of Trade, and setting the Poor to work: Some further Acts against Popery, and for uniting Protestants*. There would be solemn Engagements, that we should *never be troubled with above Forty Thousand Pounds in his Coin, and all of the best and weightiest Sort; for which we should only give our Manufactures in Exchange, and keep our Gold and Silver at home*. Perhaps, *a seasonable Report of some Invasion would have been spread in the most proper Juncture*; which is a great Smoother of Rubs in publick Proceedings: And we should have been told, that *this was no Time to create Differences, when the Kingdom was in Danger*.

THESE, I say, and the like Methods, would, in corrupt Times, have been taken to let in this Deluge of Brass among us: and, I am confident, would even then have not succeeded; much less under the Administration of so excellent a Person as the Lord *Carteret*; and in a Country, where the People of all Ranks, Parties, and Denominations, are convinced to a Man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their Posterity for ever, will be dated from the Admission of that execrable Coin: That if it once enters,

it can be no more confined to a small or moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families; and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a dead Carcass can be recovered to Life by a Cordial.

THERE is one comfortable Circumstance in this universal Opposition to Mr. *Wood*, that the People sent over hither from *England*, to *fill up our Vacancies*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Civil and Military*, are all on our Side: *Money*, the great *Divider* of the World, hath, by a strange Revolution, been the great *Uniter* of a most *divided* People. Who would leave a Hundred Pounds a Year in *England*, (*a Country of Freedom*) to be paid a Thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood*'s Exchequer? The *Gentleman They* have lately made *Primate*, would never quit his Seat in an *English* House of Lords, and his Preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol*, worth Twelve Hundred Pounds a Year, for four Times the Denomination here, but not half the Value: Therefore, I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irishman*, at least, upon *this one Article*, as any of his Brethren; or even of *Us*, who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Island. For those who, in the common Phrase, do not *come hither to learn the Language*, would never change a better Country for a worse, to receive *Brass* instead of *Gold*.

ANOTHER Slander spread by *Wood* and his Emissaries is, that, by opposing him, we discover an Inclination to *shake off our Dependance upon the Crown of* England. Pray observe, how important a Person is this same *William Wood*; and how the publick Weal of two Kingdoms, is involved in his private Interest. First, all those who refuse to take his Coin *are Papists*; for he tells us, that *none but Papists are associated against him*. Secondly, they *dispute the King's Prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for Rebellion*. And Fourthly, they are going to *shake off their Dependance upon the Crown of* England; that is to say, *they are going to chuse another King*: For there can be no other Meaning in this Expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

AND this gives me an Opportunity of explaining, to those who are ignorant, another Point, which hath often *swelled in my Breast*. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some *weak* People among ourselves, whenever, in Discourse, we make mention of *Liberty* and *Property*, shake their Heads, and

tell us, that *Ireland* is a *depending Kingdom*; as if they would seem, by this Phrase, to intend, that the People of *Ireland* is in some State of Slavery or Dependance, different from those of *England*: Whereas, a *depending Kingdom* is a *modern Term of Art*; unknown, as I have heard, to all antient *Civilians*, and *Writers upon Government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in some Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a Style, as any Kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this Expression, a *depending Kingdom*, there is no more understood, than that by a Statute made here, in the 33d Year of *Henry* VIII, *The King and his Successors, are to be Kings Imperial of this Realm, as united and knit to the Imperial Crown of* England. I have looked over all the *English* and *Irish* Statutes, without finding any Law that makes *Ireland depend* upon *England*; any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have, indeed, obliged ourselves to have *the same King with them*; and consequently they are obliged to have the *same King with us*. For the Law was made by *our own Parliament*; and our Ancestors then were not such *Fools* (*whatever they were in the preceding Reign*) to bring themselves under I know not what *Dependance*, which is now talked of, without any Ground of *Law*, *Reason*, or *common Sense*.

LET whoever think otherwise, I *M. B. Drapier*, desire to be excepted. For I declare, next under God, I *depend* only on the King my Sovereign, and on the Laws of my own Country, And I am so far from *depending* upon the People of *England*, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my Sovereign, (which GOD forbid) I would be ready at the first Command from his Majesty to take Arms against them; as some of *my* Countrymen did against *theirs* at *Preston*. And, if such a Rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*; I would venture to transgress that *Statute* so far, as to lose every Drop of my Blood, to hinder him from being *King* of *Ireland*.

IT is true, indeed, that within the Memory of Man, the Parliaments of *England* have *sometimes* assumed the Power of binding this Kingdom, by Laws enacted there; wherein they were, at first, openly opposed (as far as *Truth*, *Reason*, and *Justice* are capable of *opposing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineaux*, an *English* Gentleman born here; as well as by several of the greatest Patriots, and

best Whigs in *England*; but the *Love and Torrent* of Power prevailed. Indeed, the Arguments on both Sides were invincible. For in *Reason*, all *Government* without the Consent of the *Governed*, is the *very Definition of Slavery*: But in *Fact*, *Eleven Men well armed, will certainly subdue one single Man in his Shirt*. But I have done. For those who have used *Power* to cramp *Liberty*, have gone so far as to resenteven the *Liberty* of *Complaining*; although a Man upon the Rack, was never known to be refused the Liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

AND, as we are apt to *sink* too *much* under *unreasonable* Fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *raised* by groundless Hopes, (according to the Nature of all *consumptive* Bodies like ours.) Thus, it hath been given about for several Days past, that *Somebody in England*, empowered a second *Somebody* to write to a third *Somebody* here, to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with those Half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the * *same Person*, who was said to have sworn some Months ago, that he woud *ram them down our Throats*, (though I doubt they would *stick in our Stomachs*). But which ever of these Reports is true or false, it is no Concern of ours. For, *in this Point*, we have nothing to do with *English Ministers*: And I should be sorry to leave it in their Power to *redress* this Grievance, or to *enforce* it: For the *Report of the Committee* hath given me a *Surfeit*. The Remedy is wholly in your own Hands; and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that *Spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you; and to let you see, that by the Laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in *England*.

IF the Pamphlets published at *London* by *Wood* and his *Journeymen*, in Defence of his Cause, were Re-printed here, and that our Countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked Design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *Saint*, in Comparison of what he appears to be, from the Writings of those whom he *Hires* to justify his *Project*. But he is so far *Master of the Field* (*let*

* *Mr.* Walpole, *now Sir* Robert.

others guess the Reason) that no *London* Printer dare publish any Paper written in Favour of *Ireland*: And here no Body hath yet been so *bold*, as to publish any Thing in *Favour* of *him*.

THERE was a few Days ago a Pamphlet sent me of near 50 Pages, written in Favour of Mr. *Wood* and his Coinage; printed in *London*: It is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here: But it gave me an Occasion, to reflect upon an Unhappiness we lie under, that the People of *England* are utterly ignorant of our Case; Which, however, is no Wonder; since it is a Point they do not in the least concern themselves about; farther than, perhaps, as a Subject of Discourse in a Coffee-House, when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have Reason to believe, that no Minister ever gave himself the Trouble of reading any Papers written in our Defence; because I suppose *their Opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the Reports of *Wood* and his Accomplices; else it would be impossible, that any Man could have the Impudence, to write such a Pamphlet, as I have mentioned.

OUR *Neighbours, whose Understandings are just upon a Level with Ours* (which perhaps are none of the *Brightest*) have a strong Contempt for most Nations, but especially for *Ireland*: They look upon us as a Sort of *Savage Irish*, whom our Ancestors conquered several Hundred Years ago: And if I should describe the *Britons* to you, as they were in *Cæsar*'s Time, when they *painted their Bodies, or cloathed themselves with the Skins of Beasts*, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused, in relation to the present Subject, that, hearing only *one Side of the Cause*, and having neither Opportunity nor Curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a Lye*, merely for their Ease; and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *Power*, he hath also *Reason* on his Side.

THEREFORE, to let you see how this Case is represented in *England* by *Wood* and his Adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that Pamphlet, a few of those notorious Falshoods, in Point of *Fact* and *Reasoning*, contained therein; the Knowledge whereof, will confirm my Countrymen in their *Own* Right Sentiments, when they will see by comparing both, how much their *Enemies are in the Wrong*.

FIRST, The Writer positively asserts, *That* Wood's *Half-pence were current among us for several Months, with the universal Approbation of all People, without one single Gain-sayer; and we all to a Man thought our selves Happy in having them.*

SECONDLY, He affirms, *That we were drawn into a Dislike of them, only by some Cunning Evil-designing Men among us, who opposed this Patent of* Wood, *to get another for themselves.*

THIRDLY, That *those who most declared at first against* WOOD's *Patent, were the very Men who intended to get another for their own Advantage.*

FOURTHLY, That *our Parliament and Privy-Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of* Dublin, *the Grand-Juries and Merchants, and in short the whole Kingdom; nay, the very Dogs* (as he expresseth it) *were fond of those Half-pence, till they were inflamed by those few designing Persons aforesaid.*

FIFTHLY, He says directly, That *all those who opposed the Half-pence, were Papists, and Enemies to King* George.

THUS far I am confident the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own Knowledge, that the Author is a most notorious Lyar in every Article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole Kingdom, that if Occasion required, we might get it confirmed *under Five hundred thousand Hands.*

SIXTHLY, He would persuade us, That *if we sell Five Shillings worth of our Goods or Manufactures for Two Shillings and Four-pence worth of Copper, although the Copper were melted down, and that we could get Five Shillings in Gold or Silver for the said Goods; yet to take the said Two Shillings and Four-pence in Copper, would be greatly for our Advantage.*

AND Lastly, He makes us a very fair Offer, as empowered by *Wood*, That *if we will take off Two hundred thousand Pounds in his Half-pence for our Goods, and likewise pay him Three* per Cent. *Interest for Thirty Years, for an hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds (at which he computes the Coinage above the intrinsick Value of the Copper) for the Loan of his Coin, he will after that Time give us good Money for what Half-pence will be then left.*

LET me place this Offer in as clear a Light as I can, to shew the unsupportable Villainy and Impudence of that incorrigible Wretch. First (says he) *I will send Two hundred thousand Pounds of*

my Coin into your Country: The Copper I compute to be in real Value Eighty thousand Pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds for the Coinage; so that you see, I lend you an Hundred and twenty thousand Pounds for Thirty Years; for which you shall pay me Three per Cent. *That is to say, Three thousand Six hundred Pounds*, per Ann. *which in Thirty Years will amount to an Hundred and eight thousand Pounds. And when these Thirty Years are expired, return me my Copper, and I will give you Good Money for it.*

THIS is the Proposal made to us by *Wood* in that Pamphlet, written by one of his *Commissioners*: And the Author is supposed to be the same Infamous *Coleby* one of his *Under-Swearers* at the *Committee of Council*, who was tryed for *Robbing the Treasury here*, where he was an Under-Clerk.

BY this Proposal he will first receive Two hundred thousand Pounds, in Goods or Sterling, for as much Copper as he values at Eighty thousand Pounds; but in Reality not worth Thirty thousand Pounds. Secondly, He will receive for Interest an Hundred and Eight thousand Pounds: And when our Children come Thirty Years hence, to return his Half-pence upon his Executors (for before that Time he will be probably gone *to his own Place*) those Executors will very reasonably reject them as Raps and Counterfeits; which they will be, and Millions of them of his own Coinage.

METHINKS, I am fond of such a *Dealer* as this, who mends every Day upon our Hands, like a *Dutch* Reckoning; where, if you dispute the Unreasonableness and Exorbitance of the Bill, the Landlord shall bring it up every Time with new Additions.

ALTHOUGH these and the like Pamphlets, published by *Wood* in *London*, be altogether unknown here, where no body could read them, without as much *Indignation* as *Contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a Specimen how the *Man* employs his Time; where he Rides alone without any Creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our Silence: And the *English* in general, if they think of this Matter at all, impute our Refusal to *Wilfulness* or *Disaffection*, just as *Wood* and his *Hirelings* are pleased to represent.

BUT although our Arguments are not suffered to be printed in *England*, yet the Consequence will be of little Moment. Let

Wood endeavour to *persuade* the People *There*, that we ought to *Receive* his Coin; and let Me *Convince* our People *Here*, that they ought to *Reject* it under Pain of our utter Undoing. And then let him do his *Best* and his *Worst*.

BEFORE I conclude, I must beg Leave, in all Humility to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiscretion*, by causing so Honourable a Name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often, and in such a Manner, upon his Occasion. A short Paper, printed at *Bristol*, and re-printed here, reports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he *wonders at the Impudence and Insolence of the* Irish, *in refusing his Coin*, and *what he will do when Mr.* Walpole *comes* to *Town*. Where, by the Way, he is mistaken; for it is the *True English People* of *Ireland*, who refuse it; although we take it for granted, that the *Irish* will do so too, whenever they are asked. In another printed Paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole will cram his Brass down our Throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we must *either take these Half-pence or eat our Brogues*. And, in another News-Letter but of Yesterday, we read, that the same great Man *hath sworn to make us swallow his Coin in Fire-Balls*.

THIS brings to my Mind the known Story of a *Scotch* Man, who receiving Sentence of Death, with all the Circumstances of *Hanging*, *Beheading*, *Quartering*, *Embowelling*, and the like; cried out, *What need all this* COOKERY? And I think we have Reason to ask the same Question: For if we believe *Wood*, here is a *Dinner* getting ready for us, and you see the *Bill of Fare*; and I am sorry the *Drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *Melted Lead* and *Flaming Pitch*.

WHAT vile Words are these to put into the Mouth of a great Counsellor, in high Trust with his Majesty, and looked upon as a prime Minister? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a Manner of representing his Patrons; when I come to be a *Great Man*, he shall never be suffered to attend at my *Levee*. This is not the Style of a Great Minister; it savours too much of the *Kettle* and the *Furnace*; and came entirely out of *Wood*'s *Forge*.

As for the Threat of making us *eat our Brogues*, we need not be in Pain; for if his Coin should pass, that *Unpolite Covering for the Feet*, would no longer be a *National Reproach*; because, then we

should have neither *Shoe* nor *Brogue* left in the Kingdom. But here the Falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *Brogue* in his whole Life.

As to *Swallowing these Half-pence in Fire-balls*, it is a Story equally improbable. For, to execute this *Operation*, the whole Stock of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin and Metal must be melted down, and molded into hollow *Balls* with *Wild-fire*, no bigger than a *reasonable* Throat can be able to swallow. Now, the Metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least Fifty Millions of Half-pence to be *Swallowed* by a Million and a Half of People; so that allowing Two Half-pence to each *Ball*, there will be about Seventeen *Balls* of *Wild-fire* a-piece, to be swallowed by every Person in the Kingdom: And to administer this Dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than Fifty thousand *Operators*, allowing one *Operator* to every Thirty; which, considering the *Squeamishness* of some Stomachs, and the *Peevishness* of *Young Children*, is but reasonable. Now, under Correction of better Judgments, I think the Trouble and Charge of such an Experiment, would exceed the Profit; and therefore I take this *Report* to be *spurious*; or, at least, only a new *Scheme* of Mr. *Wood* himself; which, to make it pass the better in *Ireland*, he would Father upon a *Minister of State*.

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is against this Project of Mr. *Wood*; and is an entire Friend to *Ireland*; only by this one invincible Argument, That he has the Universal Opinion of being a wise Man, an able Minister, and in all his Proceedings, pursuing the *True Interest* of the *King his Master*: And that, as his *Integrity* is above all *Corruption*, so is his *Fortune* above all *Temptation*. I reckon therefore, we are perfectly safe from that *Corner*; and shall never be under the Necessity of Contending with so *Formidable a Power*; but be left to possess our *Brogues* and *Potatoes* in *Peace*, as * *Remote from Thunder as we are from Jupiter*.

I am, My dear Countrymen, your Loving Fellow-Subject, Fellow-Sufferer, and Humble Servant,

Oct. 13, 1724. M. B.

* *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.*

Seasonable ADVICE *to the Grand-Jury, concerning the Bill preparing against the* Printer *of the preceding Letter.*

SINCE a *Bill* is preparing for the *Grand Jury*, to find against the Printer of the *Drapier*'s *last Letter*; there are several Things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before they determine upon it.

FIRST, They are to consider; that the Author of the said Pamphlet did write three other Discourses on the same Subject; which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole Nation; and were allowed to have raised, and continued that Spirit among us, which hitherto hath kept out *Wood*'s Coin. For, all Men will grant, that, if those Pamphlets had not been writ, his Coin must have over-run the Nation some Months ago.

SECONDLY, It is to be considered, that this Pamphlet, against which a *Proclamation* hath been issued, is writ by the *same Author*; that no body ever doubted the Innocence and Goodness of his Design; that he appears, through the whole Tenor of it, to be a *loyal Subject* to his Majesty; and devoted to the House of *Hanover*; and declares himself, in a Manner, peculiarly zealous against the *Pretender*. And if such a Writer, in four several Treatises on so nice a Subject, where a Royal Patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of *England*, and of Liberty; should in one or two Places, happen to let fall an inadvertent Expression, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the Good he hath done; especially, when we consider, that he could have no possible Design in View, either of Honour, or Profit; but purely THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY.

THIRDLY, It ought to be well considered, whether any one Expression in the said Pamphlet, be really liable to just Exception; much less to be found *wicked*, *malicious*, *seditious*, *reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministry*, &c.

THE two Points in that Pamphlet, which, it is said, the Prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, First, where the Author mentions the Penner of the King's Answer. First, it is well known,

his Majesty is not Master of the *English* Tongue; and therefore, it is necessary that some other Person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that Language. Secondly, his Majesty's Answer is not in the first Person, but the third. It is not said, WE ARE CONCERNED, or OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but, HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, these are properly not the Words of his Majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his Ministers. Thirdly, it will be easily seen, that the Author of the Pamphlet delivers his Sentiments upon this Particular, with the utmost Caution and Respect, as any impartial Reader will observe.

THE second Paragraph, which, it is said, will be taken Notice of, as a Motive to find the Bill, is what the Author says of *Ireland*, being a *Depending Kingdom*. He explains all the *Dependency* he knows of; which is a Law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is King of* England, *shall be King of* Ireland. Before this Explanation be condemned, and the Bill found upon it, it would be proper that some Lawyers should fully inform the Jury, what other Law there is, either Statute or Common, for this *Dependency*; and if there be no Law, there is no Transgression.

THE fourth Thing, very maturely to be considered by the Jury, is, what Influence their finding the Bill may have upon the Kingdom: The People in general find no Fault in the *Drapier*'s last Book, any more than in the three former; and therefore, when they hear it is condemned by a Grand Jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in Favour of *Wood*'s Coin; they will think we of this Town have changed our Minds, and intend to take those Half-pence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: So that the Question comes to this: Which will be of the worst Consequence; to let pass one or two Expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a Book written for the publick Service; or to leave a free open Passage for *Wood*'s Brass to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever?

THE fifth Thing to be considered, is, that the Members of the Grand Jury being Merchants, and principal Shop-keepers, can have no *suitable Temptation* offered them, as a Recompence for the Mischief they will do, and suffer, by letting in this Coin; nor

can be at any Loss, or Danger, by rejecting the Bill: They do not expect any Employments in the State, to make up in their own private Advantage, by the Destruction of their Country: Whereas, those who go about to *advise*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that Bill, have great Employments; which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the Case of all those who signed the Proclamation, to have the Author prosecuted. And therefore, it is known, that his Grace the Lord Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, so renowned for his Piety and Wisdom, and Love of his Country, absolutely refused to condemn the Book, or the Author.

LASTLY, It ought to be considered what Consequence the finding the Bill, may have upon a poor Man, perfectly innocent; I mean the Printer. A Lawyer may pick out Expressions, and make them liable to Exception, where no other Man is able to find any: But how can it be supposed, that an ignorant Printer can be such a *Critick*? He knew the Author's Design was honest, and approved by the whole Kingdom: He advised with Friends, who told him there was no Harm in the Book, and he could see none himself. It was sent him in an unknown Hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his Wife have offered to take their Oaths, that they knew not the Author; and therefore, to find a Bill that may bring a Punishment upon the Innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For, it will be impossible to find the Author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his Name. But, I suppose, what he did at first out of Modesty, he continues to do out of Prudence. God protect Us and Him.

I WILL conclude all with a Fable, ascribed to *Demosthenes*: He had served the People of *Athens* with great Fidelity, in the Station of an *Orator*; when, upon a certain Occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his Countrymen, the following Story: Once, upon a Time, the *Wolves* desired a League with the *Sheep*, upon this Condition: That the Cause of Strife might be taken away, which was the *Shepherds* and *Mastiffs*: This being granted, the *Wolves*, without all Fear, made Havock of the *Sheep*.

November 11, 1724.

The Evening before the Tryal, Copies of the preceding Paper were conveyed to every Person of the Grand-Jury; who, moved by the Reasons contained in the said Paper, would not find the Bill; whereupon, the Chief Justice Whitshed *dissolved the Jury in a Rage: After which, the following Extract was published, and dispersed about the Town, to shew the Illegality of the said* Whitshed's *Proceeding.*

An EXTRACT of a book, entituled, *An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at* Westminster, Oct. 21, 1680. Pag. 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in *England, Nov.* the 13th, 1680.

SEVERAL Persons being examined about the Dismissing a Grand-Jury in *Middlesex*; the House came to the following *Resolutions.*

RESOLVED, That the Discharging of a Grand-Jury, by any Judge, before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to subvert the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*; and report the same, with their Opinion therein, to this House.

In about a Month after the Proclamation was published, offering three Hundred Pounds Reward for discovering the Author of the preceding Letter, the following Paper was published.

The PRESENTMENT of the *Grand-Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin.*

WHEREAS several great Quantities of base Mettal coined, commonly called *Wood*'s Half-pence, have been brought into the Port of *Dublin*, and lodged in several Houses of this City, with an Intention to make them pass clandestinely, among his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; notwithstanding the Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, and the Privy-Council, and the Declarations of most of the Corporations of this City against the said Coin: And whereas his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to leave his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, at Liberty to take or refuse the said Half-pence.

WE the *Grand-Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas-Term*, 1724, having entirely at Heart his Majesty's Interest, and the Welfare of our Country, and being throughly sensible of the great Discouragement which Trade hath suffered by the Apprehensions of the said Coin; whereof we have already felt the dismal Effects; and that the Currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great Diminution of his Majesty's Revenue, and the Ruin of us and our Posterity: Do *present* all such Persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by Fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said Half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majesty's most gracious Intentions, as Enemies to his Majesty's Government, and to the Safety, Peace, and Welfare of all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; whose Affections have been so eminently distinguished by their Zeal to his illustrious Family, before his happy Accession to the Throne, and by their continued Loyalty ever since.

AS we do, with all just Gratitude, acknowledge the Services of

all such *Patriots*, as have been eminently *zealous* for the Interest of his Majesty, and this Country, in detecting the fraudulent Impositions of the said *Wood*, and preventing the passing his base Coin: So we do, at the same Time, declare our Abhorrence and Detestation of all Reflections on his Majesty, and his Government; and that we are ready, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend his most sacred Majesty against the Pretender, and all his Majesty's open and secret Enemies, both at home and abroad.

Given under our Hands, at the Grand-Jury Chamber, this 28th of *November*, 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empson,
Nathaniel Pearson,
Joseph Nuttall,
William Aston,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearson,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawson,
David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

A

LETTER

To the Right Honourable the

Lord Viſcount *Moleſworth.*

By *M. B. Drapier*, Author of the Letter to the *Shop-keepers, &c.*

They compaſſed me about alſo with Words of Deceit, and fought againſt me without a Cauſe.

For my Love they are my Adverſaries, but I give my ſelf unto Prayer.

And they have rewarded me Evil for Good, and Hatred for my Love. *Pſalm* 109. *v.* 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be Judge, being not able to take away Iniquity, leſt at any Time thou fear the Perſon of the Mighty, and lay a ſtumbling Block in the Way of thy Uprightneſs.

Offend not againſt the Multitude of a City, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thy ſelf down among the People.

Bind not one Sin upon another, for in One thou ſhalt not be Unpuniſhed. *Eccluſ.* Ch. 7. V. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent, quibus Hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DUBLIN:
Printed by *John Harding* in *Moleſworth's Court* in *Fiſhamble-ſtreet.*

Directions to the Printer.

Mr. Harding,

WHEN *I sent you my former Papers, I cannot say I intended you either* Good *or* Hurt; *and yet you have happened through my Means to receive* both. *I pray God deliver you from any more of the* Latter, *and increase the* Former. *Your Trade, particularly in this Kingdom, is, of all others, the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for as you deal in the most worthless Kind of Trash, the Penny Productions of pennyless Scriblers; so you often venture your Liberty, and sometimes your Lives, for the Purchase of half a Crown; and, by your own Ignorance, are punished for other Mens Actions.*

I am afraid, you in particular, think you have Reason to complain of me, for your own and your Wife's Confinement in Prison, to your great Expence, as well as Hardship; and for a Prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, *how that Matter stands. Since the Press hath lain under so strict an Inspection, those who have a mind to inform the World, are become so cautious, as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the Way of Danger. My Custom, therefore, is to dictate to a Prentice who can write in a feigned Hand; and what is written, we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy. But, at the same Time, I do assure you, upon my Reputation, that I never did send you any thing, for which I thought you could possibly be called to an Account. And you will be my Witness, that I always desired you, by a Letter, to take some good Advice before you ventured to print; because I knew the* Dexterity *of* Dealers in the Law, *at finding out something to fasten on, where no Evil is meant. I am told, indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able Persons; and even* some, *who afterwards* appeared against you: *To which I can only answer; that you must either change your* Advisers, *or determine to print nothing that comes from a* Drapier.

I desire you will send the inclosed Letter, directed to my Lord Viscount Molesworth, *at his House at* Brackdenstown, *near* Swords: *But I would have it sent* printed, *for the Convenience of his Lordship's Reading; because this counterfeit Hand of my Prentice, is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over carefully by some* notable *Lawyer: I am assured, you will find enough*

of them who are Friends to the Drapier, *and will do it without a Fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your Expences. For, although I have taken so much Care, that I think it impossible to find a Topick out of the following Papers, for sending you again to Prison; yet I will not venture to be your Guarantee.*

This ensuing Letter, contains only a short Account of my self, and an humble Apology for my former Pamphlets, especially the last; *with little Mention of Mr.* Wood, *or his* Half-pence; *because I have already said enough upon that Subject, until Occasion shall be given for* new Fears; *and, in that Case, you may perhaps hear from me again.*

I am,

Your Friend
and Servant,

M. B.

From my Shop in
St. *Francis-street*,
Dec. 14, 1724.

POSTSCRIPT.

FOR want of Intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer, your People are apt to make very gross Errors in the Press; which I desire you will provide against.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Molesworth*, at his House at *Brackdenstown*, near *Swords*.

My LORD,

I REFLECT too late on the Maxim of common Observers, that those who meddle in Matters out of their Calling, will have Reason to repent; which is now verified in me: For, by engaging in the Trade of a Writer, I have drawn upon my self the Displeasure of the Government, signified by a *Proclamation*; promising a Reward of Three Hundred Pounds, to the first *faithful* Subject who shall be able, and inclined to *inform* against me. To which I may add, the *laudable Zeal and Industry* of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, in his Endeavours to discover so dangerous a Person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly Cause to do so; and the common Observation still stands good.

IT will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the Course of human Affairs, that a Man shall be made liable to *legal* Animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for, either to *God* or his *Country*; and condemned at *Westminster-Hall*, for what he will never be charged with at the *Day of Judgment*.

AFTER strictly examining my own Heart, and consulting some Divines of great Reputation, I cannot accuse my self of any * *Malice*, or *Wickedness against the Publick*; of any *Designs to sow Sedition*; of *reflecting on the King and his Ministers*; or of endeavouring *to alienate the Affections of the People of this Kingdom from those of* England. All I can charge my self with, is a weak Attempt to serve a Nation in Danger of Destruction, by a most wicked and malicious Projector; without waiting until I were called to its Assistance: Which Attempt, however it may perhaps give me the Title of *Pragmatical* and *Overweening*, will never lie a Burthen upon my Conscience. God knows, whether I may not, with all my Caution, have already run my self into a second Danger, by

* *Articles mentioned in the Indictment, and* vide *the Proclamation.*

offering thus much in my own Vindication. For I have heard of a *Judge*, who, upon the Criminal's *Appeal* to the *dreadful Day of Judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *Premunire*, for *appealing to a foreign Jurisdiction*: And of another in *Wales*, who severely checked the Prisoner for offering the same Plea; taxing him with reflecting on the Court by such a Comparison; because *Comparisons were odious*.

BUT, in Order to make some Excuse for being more speculative than others of my Condition; I desire your Lordship's Pardon, while I am doing a very foolish Thing; which is to give you some little Account of my self.

I WAS bred at a Free-School, where I acquired some little Knowledge in the *Latin Tongue*. I served my Apprenticeship in *London*, and there set up for my self with good Success; until by the *Death of some Friends, and the Misfortunes of others*, I returned into this Kingdom; and began to employ my Thoughts in cultivating the *Woollen-Manufacture* through all its Branches; wherein I met with great Discouragement, and powerful Opposers; whose Objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the People of *England* would be offended, if our Manufactures were brought to equal theirs: And even some of the *Weaving*-Trade were my Enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your Lordship, at that Time, did me the Honour to come into my Shop, where I shewed you a * Piece of *black and white Stuff*, just sent from the *Dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my Customer for it.

HOWEVER, I was so mortified, that I resolved, for the future, to sit quietly in my Shop, and deal in *common Goods*, like the rest of my Brethren; untill it happened some Months ago, considering with my self, that the *lower and poorer Sort of People* wanted a *plain, strong, coarse Stuff, to defend them against cold* Easterly *Winds; which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long Time together*; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the King-

* *By this is meant, a preceding Discourse in this Volume, entitled,* A Proposal for the universal Use of *Irish* Manufactures. [See vol. ix of this edition.]

dom, and preserved many Thousands from *Agues*. I then made a * *second* and a *third* Kind of *Stuffs* for the *Gentry*, with the same Success; insomuch, that an *Ague* hath hardly been heard of for some Time.

THIS incited me so far, that I ventured upon a † *fourth* Piece, made of the best *Irish* Wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *Lord* or *Judge* of the Land. But, of late, some *great Folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *Shuddering in their Limbs*, and have thrown it off in a Rage; cursing to Hell the poor *Drapier*, who invented it: So that I am determined, never to *work for Persons of Quality* again; except for your *Lordship* and a *very few more*.

I ASSURE your Lordship, upon the Word of an honest Citizen, that I am not richer, by the Value of one of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, with the Sale of all the several *Stuffs* I have contrived: For, I give the whole Profit to the *Dyers* and *Pressers*. And, therefore, I hope you will please to believe, that no other Motive, besides the Love of my Country, could engage me to busy my Head and Hands, to the Loss of my Time; and the Gain of nothing but *Vexation* and *ill Will*.

I HAVE now in Hand one *Piece of Stuff* to be woven on purpose for your Lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the || *Shreds and Remnants of the Wool employed in the Former*. However I shall *work* it up as well as I can; and at worst, you need only give it among your Tenants.

I AM very sensible how ill your Lordship is like to be entertained with the Pedantry of a *Drapier*; in the Terms of his own Trade. How will the Matter be mended, when you find me entring again, although very sparingly, into an Affair of State? For such is now grown the Controversy with Mr. *Wood*, if some *great Lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at Play, that Men begin with *Farthings*, and go on to *Gold*, till some of them lose their Estates and die in Jayl: So it may possibly fall out in

* *Alluding to the* Drapier's *three first Letters.*
† *Meaning the fourth Letter, against which the Proclamation was issued.*
|| *Meaning the present Letter.*

my Case, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *Fine*, double to the Reward for *Betraying* me; be sent to Prison, and *not be delivered thence until I shall have payed the uttermost Farthing.*

THERE are, My Lord, three Sorts of Persons with whom I am resolved never to dispute: A *High-way-man* with a Pistol at my Breast; a *Troop* of *Dragoons* who come to plunder my House; and a *Man of the Law* who can make a Merit of accusing me. In each of these Cases, *which are almost the same*, the best Method is to *keep out of the Way*; and the next Best is to *deliver your Money*, *surrender your House*, and *confess nothing.*

I AM told, that the two Points in my last Letter, from which an Occasion of Offence hath been taken, are where I mention His Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Lords upon Mr. *Wood*'s Patent; and where I discourse upon *Ireland*'s being a *Dependant Kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost Respect and Caution; and I thought it necessary to shew where *Wood*'s Patent differed in many essential Parts, from all others that ever had been granted; because, the contrary had, for want of due Information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of *Ireland*'s *Dependency*; I confess to have often heard it mentioned but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the Curiosity to enquire among several Eminent Lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the Matter. I then turned over all the Statutes of both Kingdoms without the least Information, further than an *Irish* Act that I quoted of the 33d of *Henry* VIII. uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one King. I cannot say, I was *sorry* to be disappointed in my Search; because it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon *God* and my *Prince*, and the *Laws of my own Country*, *after the Manner of other Nations*. But since my *Betters* are of a *different Opinion*, and desire *further Dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own Heart, upon the *Exception* I made of *M. B. Drapier:* Indeed that Hint was borrowed from an idle Story I had heard in *England*, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it *insinuates neither Treason nor Sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

SOME Hundred Years ago, when the Peers were so great that

the Commons were looked upon as little better than their *Dependents*; a Bill was brought in for making some new Additions to the Power and Privileges of the Peerage. After it was read, one Mr. *Drue*, a Member of the House, stood up, and said, he very much approved the Bill, and would give his Vote to have it pass; but however, for some Reasons best known to himself, he desired that a Clause might be inserted for *excepting the Family of the* Drues. The Oddness of the Proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the Bill was thrown out.

WHETHER I were mistaken, or WENT TOO FAR in examining the *Dependency*, must be left to the impartial Judgment of the World, as well as to the Courts of Judicature; although indeed not in so *effectual* and *decisive a Manner*. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile Spirit, that this Point did not *belong to my Subject*, is a False and Foolish Objection. There were several scandalous Reports industriously spread by *Wood* and his Accomplices, to discourage all Opposition against his infamous Project. They gave it out that we were prepared for a *Rebellion*; that we disputed the King's *Prerogative*; and were shaking off our *Dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much Belief against the most visible Demonstrations to the contrary, that a great Person of this Kingdom, now in *England*, sent over such an Account of it to his Friends, as would make any good Subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that Calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible Argument, that we could have no Intention to dispute His Majesty's *Prerogative*; because the *Prerogative* was not concerned in the Question; the Civilians and Lawyers of all Nations agreeing, that *Copper is not Money*. And lastly, to clear us from the Imputation of shaking off our *Dependency*; I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *Dependency* consisted; and cited the Statute above-mentioned made in *Ireland*; by which it is enacted, that *whoever is King of* England, *shall be King of* Ireland; and that the Two Kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one King*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *Dependency*; because, it was altogether out of our Power: For surely no King of *England* will ever consent to the Repeal of that Statute.

BUT upon this Article I am charged with a heavier Accusation. It is said I WENT TOO FAR, when I declared, that *if ever the* Pretender *should come to be fixed upon the Throne of* England (*which God forbid*) *I would so far venture to transgress this Statute, that I would lose the last Drop of my Blood, before I would submit to him as King of* Ireland.

THIS I hear on all Sides, is the strongest and weightiest Objection against me; and which hath given the most Offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct Statute; and that any Motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a King whom *England* should receive. Now, if in defending myself from this Accusation, I should freely confess, that I WENT TOO FAR; that the Expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my Zeal for His present Majesty, and His Protestant Line, in the House of *Hanover*; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind: And that I hope this free Acknowledgement and Sorrow for my Error, will be some Attonement, and a little soften the Hearts of my powerful Adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a Defence as this, I do not doubt, but some People would wrest it to an ill Meaning, by a spiteful Interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other Answer, which that Paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the Mercy of every candid Reader; but still without recanting my own Opinion.

I WILL now venture to tell your Lordship a Secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this Habit of Writing and Discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole Kingdom, and am apt to grate the Ears of more than I could wish; was acquired during my Apprenticeship in *London*, and a long Residence there after I had set up for my self. Upon my Return and Settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one Country of Freedom for another*. I had been long conversing with the Writings of your Lordship, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Molineaux*, Colonel *Sidney*, and other dangerous Authors, who talk of *Liberty as a Blessing, to which the whole Race of Mankind hath an Original Title; whereof nothing but unlawful Force can divest them*. I knew a good deal of the several *Gothick* Institutions in *Europe*; and by what Incidents and Events they came to be destroyed: And I ever thought it the most un-

controlled and universally agreed Maxim, that *Freedom consists in a People being governed by Laws made with their own Consent; and Slavery in the Contrary.* I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true; that *Liberty* and *Property*, are Words of known Use and Signification in this Kingdom; and that the very Lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their Mouths. These were the Errors which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe Treatment I have received. But I shall in Time *grow wiser*, and learn to consider my *Driver*, the *Road I am in*, and *with whom I am Yoked.* This I will venture to say; that the boldest and most obnoxious Words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only exposed me as a stupid Fool, who went to prove that *the Sun shone in a clear Summer's Day*: And I have Witnesses ready to depose, that your Lordship hath said and writ fifty Times worse; and, what is still an Aggravation, with infinitely more Wit and Learning, and stronger Arguments: So that as Politicks run, I do not know a Person of more exceptionable Principles than your self: And if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in Honour to pay my Fine, and support me in Prison; or else I may chance to *Inform* against you by Way of *Reprizal.*

IN the mean time, I beg your Lordship to receive my Confession; that if there be any such Thing as a *Dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *Law* of *God*, of *Nature*, of *Reason*, of *Nations*, or of the *Land* (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *Proclamation* against me, the most *Merciful* that ever was put out; and instead of accusing me as *Malicious*, *Wicked*, and *Seditious*; it might have been directly as guilty of *High Treason.*

ALL I desire is, that the Cause of my Country against Mr. *Wood* may not suffer by any Inadvertency of mine: Whether *Ireland* depend upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *King*, and the *Law*; I hope no Man will assert that it *depends* upon Mr. *Wood.* I should be heartily sorry, that this *Commendable* Resentment against me should accidentally (and *I hope*, what was never intended) strike a Damp upon that Spirit in all Ranks and Corporations of Men against the desperate and ruinous Design of Mr. *Wood.* Let my Countrymen blot out those Parts in my last

Letter which they dislike; and let no *Rust* remain on my *Sword*, to cure the Wounds I have given to our most mortal Enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the Oaths, where several Things were to be *Renounced*; he said, he loved *Renouncing*; asked if any more were to be *Renounced*; for he was ready to *Renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *Renouncer*; yet let me have but *Good City Security* against this pestilent Coinage, and I shall be ready not only to *Renounce* every Syllable in all my Four Letters, but deliver them chearfully with my own *Hands* into *those* of the common *Hangman*, to be burnt with no better Company than the *Coiner's Effigies*; if any Part of it hath escaped out of the *Secular Hands* of my faithful Friends the common People.

BUT, whatever the Sentiments of *some People* may be, I think it is agreed that many of those who *Subscribed* against me, are on the Side of a vast Majority in the Kingdom, who opposed Mr. *Wood*: And it was with great Satisfaction, that I observed some *Right Honourable Names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the Bottom of a *strong Declaration*, against him, and his Coin. But if the Admission of it among us be *already determined*; the *worthy* Person who is to *betray* me, ought in Prudence to do it with all convenient Speed; or else it may be difficult to find Three Hundred Pounds in *Sterling* for the Discharge of his *Hire*; when the Publick shall have lost Five Hundred Thousand; if there be so much in the Nation; besides Four Fifths of its Annual Income for ever.

I AM told by Lawyers; that in all Quarrels between Man and Man, it is of much Weight which of them gave the first Provocation, or struck the first Blow. It is manifest that Mr. *Wood* hath done both: And therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *Hanged*, and his *Dross* thrown into the Sea: After which the *Drapier* will be ready to stand his Tryal. *It must needs be that Offences come*; *but Wo unto him by whom the Offence cometh*. If Mr. *Wood* had held his *Hand*; every body else would have held their *Tongues*: And then, there would have been little Need of *Pamphlets*, *Juries*, or *Proclamations* upon this Occasion. The Provocation must Needs have been great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *Drapier*, to become an *Author*. One would almost

think, the very *Stones* in the Street would *rise* up in such a Cause: And I am not sure, they will not *do so* against Mr. *Wood*, if ever he comes within their Reach. It is a known Story of the Dumb Boy, whose Tongue forced a Passage for Speech by the Horror of seeing a Dagger at his Father's Throat. This may lessen the Wonder, that a Tradesman hid in Privacy and Silence should *cry out* when the Life and Being of his Political *Mother* are attempted before his Face; and by so infamous a Hand.

BUT in the mean Time, Mr. *Wood* the *Destroyer* of a Kingdom, walks about in Triumph (unless it be true, that he is in Jayl for Debt) while he who endeavoured to *assert the Liberty of his Country*, is forced to *hide his Head* for occasionally dealing in a Matter of *Controversy*. However, I am not the first who hath been condemned to Death for *gaining a great Victory* over a powerful Enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict Orders of Military Discipline.

I AM now resolved to follow (after the usual Proceeding of Mankind, because it is too late) the Advice given me by a certain *Dean*. * He shewed the Mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good Will of the People; that I had succeeded hitherto, better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *Circumstantial Lapse*, would probably bring me within the Reach of *Power*: That my good Intentions would be no Security against *those who watched every Motion of my Pen, in the Bitterness of my Soul*. He produced an Instance of a Person as innocent, as disinterested and as well meaning as my self; who had written a † very seasonable and inoffensive Treatise, exhorting the People of this Kingdom to wear their own Manufactures; for which, however, the Printer was prosecuted with the utmost Virulence; the *Jury sent back Nine Times*; and the Man given up to the Mercy of the Court. The *Dean* further observed, That I was in a Manner left alone to stand the *Battle*; while others, who had Ten thousand Times better Talents than a *Drapier*, were so prudent to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant Amusement to look on with Safety, while another was giving them *Diversion* at the Hazard of

* *The* Author, *it is supposed, means himself.*

† *The* Author *means himself again; in the Discourse advising the People of* Ireland *to wear their own Manufactures.*

his Liberty and Fortune; and thought they made a sufficient Recompence by a little Applause: Whereupon he concluded with a short Story of a *Jew* at *Madrid*; who being condemned to the Fire on Account of his Religion; a Crowd of School-boys following him to the Stake, and apprehending they might lose their *Sport*, if he should happen to recant; would often *clap him on the Back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyese* (*Moses*, *continue stedfast*.)

I ALLOW this Gentleman's Advice to have been very good, and his Observations just; and in one Respect my Condition is worse than that of the *Jew*; for *no Recantation will save me*. However, it should seem by *some late Proceedings*, that my State is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the Steddiness of *two impartial Grand Juries*; which hath confirmed in me an Opinion I have long entertained; That, as Philosophers say, *Vertue is seated in the Middle*; so in another Sense, the little *Virtue* left in the World is chiefly to be found among the *middle* Rank of Mankind; who are neither *allured* out of her Paths by *Ambition*, nor *driven* by *Poverty*.

SINCE the *Proclamation*, occasioned by my last Letter, and a *due* Preparation for proceeding against me in a Court of Justice, there have been two printed Papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no Man is able to trace the Original, further than by *Conjecture*; which, with its usual Charity, lays them to my Account. The former is entituled, *Seasonable Advice*, and appears to have been intended for Information of the Grand-Jury; upon the Supposition of a Bill to be prepared against that Letter. The other is an Extract from a printed Book of Parliamentary Proceedings, in the Year 1680; containing an angry Resolution of the House of Commons in *England*, against *dissolving Grand-Juries*. As to the former, your Lordship will find it to be the Work of a more artful Hand, than that of a common *Drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the Minds of a Jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbyassed; and for that Reason, *it is manifest*, that no *Judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the Bench, either by *himself*, or his *Dependents*, to use the *least Insinuation*, that might possibly affect the Passions, or Interests, of any one single *Jury-man*, much less of a whole *Jury*; whereof every Man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself

the Trouble to dip into the common printed Tryals; so as, it is amazing to think, what a Number of *upright Judges* there have been in both Kingdoms, for above *Sixty Years past*; which, considering how long they held their Offices *during Pleasure*, as they *still do among us*, I account next to a *Miracle*.

As to the other Paper, I must confess it is a sharp Censure of an *English* House of Commons, against *dissolving Grand-Juries*, by any Judge before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration, and not presented; as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and as a Means to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

HOWEVER, the Publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For, whatever *Dependence* there may be of *Ireland* upon *England*; I hope he would not insinuate, that the Proceedings of a *Lord Chief Justice* in *Ireland*, must *depend* upon a *Resolution* of an *English* House of Commons. Besides, that *Resolution* although it were levelled against a particular Lord Chief Justice, Sir *William Scroggs*, yet the Occasion was directly contrary. For, *Scroggs dissolved* the *Grand-Jury* of *London*, for fear they *should* present; but our's in *Dublin* was *dissolved*, because they would *not* present; which *wonderfully alters the Case*. And, therefore, a *second Grand-Jury* supplied that Defect, by making a Presentment that hath *pleased the whole Kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all Parties, that both the one and the other *Jury* behaved themselves in such a Manner, as ought to be remembered to their Honour, while there shall be any Regard left among us, for *Virtue* or *publick Spirit*.

I AM confident, your Lordship will be of my Sentiments in one Thing; that some short plain authentick Tract might be published, for the Information both of *Petty* and *Grand Juries*, how far their Power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed Copy of such a Treatise might be deposited in every Court, to be consulted by the Jury-men, before they consider of their Verdict; by which, Abundance of Inconveniencies would be avoided; whereof innumerable Instances might be produced from former Times, because I will say nothing of the present.

I HAVE read somewhere of an *Eastern* King, who put a *Judge* to Death for an iniquitous Sentence; and ordered his *Hide to be stuffed into a Cushion*, and placed upon the Tribunal for the Son to sit on; who was preferred to his Father's Office. I fancy, such a *Memorial* might not have been unuseful to a Son of Sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his Successors would often *wriggle* in their Seats, as long as the *Cushion* lasted: I wish the Relater had told us what Number of such *Cushions* there might be in that Country.

I CANNOT but observe to your Lordship, how nice and dangerous a Point it is grown, for a private Person to inform the People; even in an Affair, where the publick Interest and Safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. *Wood*; and this in a Country, where *Loyalty is woven into the very Hearts of the People*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the first who introduced that *commendable Acuteness into the Courts of Judicature*; but how far this Practice hath been imitated by his Successors, or *strained upon Occasion*, is out of my Knowledge. When Pamphlets, *unpleasing to the Ministry*, were presented as Libels, he would order the offensive Paragraphs to be read before him; and said, it was strange, that the Judges and Lawyers of the *King*'s-*Bench* should be duller than all the People of *England*: And he was often so very happy in applying the initial Letters of Names, and expounding *dubious Hints*, (the two common Expedients among Writers of that Class, for escaping the Law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the Authors intended; as many of them, or their Printers, found to their Cost. If such Methods are to be followed in examining, what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any Man of fifty Times my Understanding and Caution, to avoid being *entrapped*; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old Arguments and Computations; whereof the World is already grown weary. So that my good Friend *Harding* lies under this *Dilemma*; either to let my *learned Works* hang for ever a drying upon his Lines; or venture to publish them at the Hazard of being laid by the Heels.

I NEED not tell your Lordship where the Difficulty lies: It is true, that the King and the Laws *permit* us to refuse this Coin of

Mr. *Wood*; but, at the same Time, it is equally true, that the King and the Laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible*, that the Ministers in *England* may not suppose the Consequences of uttering that Brass among us, to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps, if they understood it in that Light, they would, in common Humanity, use their Credit with his Majesty for saving *a most loyal Kingdom from Destruction*. But, as long as it shall please those great Persons to think that Coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we lie under the Disadvantage of being censured as *obstinate*, in not complying with a Royal Patent. Therefore, nothing remains, but to make Use of that *Liberty*, which the *King* and the *Laws* have left us; by continuing to refuse this Coin; and by frequent Remembrances to keep up that Spirit raised against it; which, otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in Time to sink altogether. For, any publick Order against receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, is not *reasonably* to be expected in this Kingdom, without Directions from *England*; which I think no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

BUT to confess the Truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my Office as a Writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *Brethren*, the Makers of *Songs* and *Ballads*; who, perhaps, are the best qualified at present, to gather up the Gleanings of this Controversy. As to my self, it hath been my Misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a wrong Foundation. For, having detected the Frauds and Falshoods of this vile Impostor *Wood* in every Part, I foolishly *disdained* to have Recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for Mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal* to *Law* and *Liberty*, and *the common Rights of Mankind*, without considering the *Climate* I was in.

SINCE your last Residence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my Nag to ride about your Grounds; where I fancied my self to feel an Air of *Freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low Condition of a Tradesman, did not qualify me to wait on you at your House; for then, I am afraid, my Writings would not have escaped *severer Censures*. But I have lately sold my Nag, and honestly told his greatest Fault, which was that of snuffing up the Air about *Brackdenstown*; whereby he became such a Lover of *Liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried,

at the Bottom of a strong Chest, your Lordship's Writings, under a Heap of others that treat of *Liberty*; and spread over a *Layer* or two of *Hobbs*, *Filmer*, *Bodin*, and many more Authors of that Stamp, to be readiest at Hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new Set* of Principles in Government. In the mean time, I design quietly to look to my Shop, and keep as far out of your Lordship's Influence as possible; and if you ever see any more of my Writings on this Subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a Sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your Lordship will please to give me an easy Lease of some Part of your Estate in *Yorkshire*, thither I will carry my Chest; and turning it upside down, resume my political Reading where I left it off; feed on plain homely Fare, and live and die a FREE honest *English* Farmer: But not without Regret, for leaving my Countrymen under the Dread of the brazen Talons of Mr. *Wood*; my most loyal and innocent Country-men; to whom I owe so much for their good Opinion of me, and my poor Endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest Respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient,
And most Humble Servant,
M. B.

From my Shop in
St. *Francis-street*,
Dec. 14, 1724.

Letters VI & VII

and an

Account of Wood's Execution

First published with the following ADVERTISEMENT
in Vol. IV *of* SWIFT'S *Works*. Dublin 1735

Advertisement *to the* Reader.

THE former of the two following Papers is dated *Oct.* 26*th.* 1724, by which it appears to be written a little after the Proclamation against the Author of the *Drapier*'s fourth Letter. It is delivered with much Caution, because the Author confesseth himself to be D— of St. *P——k*'s; and I could discover his Name subscribed at the End of the Original, although blotted out by some other Hand. I can tell no other Reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the Writer finding how effectually the *Drapier* had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the People in Power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the Paper in his Cabinet. However, having received some Encouragement to collect into One Volume all Papers relating to *Ireland*, supposed to be written by the *Drapier*; and knowing how favourably that Author's Writings in this kind have been received by the Publick; to make the Volume more compleat, I procured a Copy of the following Letter from one of the Author's Friends, with whom it was left, while the Author was in *England*; and I have printed it as near as I could in the Order of Time.

THE next Treatise is called *An Address*, &c. It is without a Date; but seems to be written during the first Session of Parliament in Lord *Carteret's* Government. The Title of this Address is in the usual Form, by *M. B. Drapier*. There is but a small Part of it that relates to *William Wood* and his Coin: The rest contains several Proposals for the Improvement of *Ireland*; the many Discouragements it lyes under; and what are the best Remedies against them.

BY many Passages in some of the *Drapier*'s former Letters, but particularly in the following Address, concerning the great Drain of Money from *Ireland* by Absentees, Importation of foreign Goods, Balance of Trade, and the like; it appears that the Author had taken much Pains, and been well informed in the business of Computing; all his Reasonings upon that Subject, although he does not here descend to particular Sums, agreeing generally with the Accounts given by others who have since

made that Enquiry their particular Study. And it is observable, that in this Address, as well as in one of his printed Letters, he hath specifyed several important Articles, that have not been taken Notice of by others who came after him.

A

LETTER

TO THE

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON

My Lord,

I Desire you will consider me as a Member who comes in at the latter End of a Debate; or as a Lawyer who speaks to a Cause, when the Matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some Months ago I was at your House upon a Commission, where I am one of the Governors: But I went thither not so much on Account of the Commission, as to ask you some Questions concerning Mr. *Wood*'s Patent to coin Halfpence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me, in a mixt Company, how much you had been always against that wicked Project: Which raised in me an Esteem for you so far, that I went in a few Days to make you a Visit, after many Years Intermission. I am likewise told, that your Son wrote two Letters from *London*, (one of which I have seen) empowering those to whom they were directed, to assure his Friends, that whereas there was a malicious Report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for Forty Thousand Pounds of *Wood*'s Coin, to be received in *Ireland*; the said Report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that Minister on the Subject; nor would ever give his Consent to have one Farthing of the said Coin current here. And although it be long since I have given my self the Trouble of conversing with People of Titles or Stations; yet I have been told by those who can take up with such Amusements, that there is not a considerable Person of the Kingdom, scrupulous in any Sort to declare his Opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous Conse-

quences of *Wood*'s Patent, have been so strongly represented by both Houses of Parliament; by the Privy Council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many Corporations; and the Concurrence of the principal Gentlemen in most Counties, at their Quarter-Sessions, without any Regard to Party, Religion, or Nation.

I CONCLUDE from hence, that the Currency of these Halfpence would, in the universal Opinion of our People, be utterly destructive to this Kingdom; and consequently, that it is every Man's Duty, not only to refuse this Coin himself, but as far as in him lyes, to persuade others to do the like: And whether this be done in private or in Print, is all a Case: As no Lay-man is forbid to write, or to discourse upon Religious or Moral Subjects; although he may not do it in a Pulpit (at least in our Church.) Neither is this an Affair of State, until Authority shall think fit to declare it so: Or if you should understand it in that Sense; yet you will please to consider that I am not now a preaching.

THEREFORE, I do think it my Duty, since the *Drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his Place, as not to incur his Fortune: For I have learnt from old Experience, that there are Times wherein a Man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those Characters, I may be allowed, by offering new Arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the Memory of my Fellow-Subjects, and keep up that good Spirit raised among them; to preserve themselves from utter Ruin by lawful Means; and such as are permitted by His Majesty.

I BELIEVE you will please to allow me two Propositions: First, that we are a most loyal People; and, Secondly, that we are a free People, in the common Acceptation of that Word applied to a Subject under a limited Monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many Years ago in Discourse differ much, in the Presence of Lord *Wharton*, about the Meaning of that Word *Liberty*, with Relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free People; there is only another Appellation left; which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed* would call me to an Account for, if I ventured to bestow: For, I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be

Libertas & natale Solum; at the very Point of Time when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both.

NOW, as for our Loyalty, to His present Majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in another Part of his Dominions; I am sure it hath never been exceeded: And I am confident he hath not a Minister in *England* who could ever call it once in Question; but that some hard Rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other Side the Water, I suppose you will not doubt: And Rumours of the severest Kind; which many good People have imputed to the indirect Proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his Emissaries; as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our Loyalty depended upon the Test of refusing or taking his Copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal People; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper Marks of Favour and Protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free People can expect: Among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be One; That *Wood*'s Half-pence may never have Entrance into this Kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our Wishes; although there were no such Mortal as a *Drapier* in the World.

I AM heartily sorry, that any Writer should, in a Cause so generally approved, give Occasion to the Government and Council to charge him with * Paragraphs 'highly reflecting upon 'His Majesty and His Ministers; tending to alienate the Affec-'tions of His good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland* from each 'other; and to promote Sedition among the People.' I must confess, that with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the Failing of better Writers, to be not always fortunate in the Manner of expressing himself.

HOWEVER, since the *Drapier* is but one Man, I shall think I do a publick Service, by asserting that the rest of my Countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* Pamphlets to reflect on the King or His Ministers, to breed Sedition.

I SOLEMNLY declare, that I never once heard the least Reflection cast upon the King, on the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin:

* *Taken out of the* Drapier's *4th Letter, for which the Printer was prosecuted; and a Proclamation published against the* Author, *offering* 300l. *Reward for discovering him.*

For in many Discourses on this Matter, I do not remember His Majesty's Name to be so much as mentioned. As to the Ministry in *England*, the only two Persons hinted at were the Duke of *Grafton*, and Mr. *Walpole*: The former, as I have heard you and a Hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the Patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was passed, although he were then Lord Lieutenant: And therefore I suppose every Body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it since.

Mr. *Walpole* was indeed supposed to be understood by the Letter *W.* in several News-Papers; where it is said, that some Expressions fell from him not very favourable to the People of *Ireland*; for the Truth of which, the Kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the Discretion of the Publishers. You observe, the *Drapier* wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this Charge, by very strong Arguments; and speaks of him with Civility. I cannot deny my self to have been often present, where the Company gave their Opinion, that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood*'s Project, which I always contradicted; and for my own Part, never once opened my Lips against that Minister, either in mixt or particular Meetings: And my Reason for this Reservedness was; because it pleased him, in the *Queen*'s Time (I mean Queen *Anne* of ever blessed Memory) to make a Speech directly against me, by Name, in the House of Commons, as I was told a very few Minutes after, in the Court of *Requests*, by more than fifty Members.

BUT You, who are in a great Station here, (if any Thing here may be called Great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick Voice to be chief Minister, will, among the general Talkers, share the Blame, whether justly or no, of every Thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many Instances, from my own Knowledge, while I was in the World; and particularly in the Case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister, I ever conversed with.

BUT, whatever unpleasing Opinion some People might conceive of Mr. *Walpole*, on Account of those Half-pence; I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many Persons

* *Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer* Oxford.

of Credit, come from *England*, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have seen Letters under his Hand, full of Arrogance and Insolence towards *Ireland*; and boasting of his Favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable: Because he reasonably thought it for his Interest to spread such a Report; and because it is the known Talent of low and little Spirits, to have a great Man's Name perpetually in their Mouths.

THUS I have sufficiently justified the People of *Ireland*, from learning any bad Lessons out of the *Drapier*'s Pamphlets, with regard to his Majesty and his Ministers: And, therefore, if those Papers were intended to sow Sedition among us, GOD be thanked, the Seeds have fallen upon a very improper Soil.

As to alienating the Affections of the People of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe, the *Drapier*, whatever his Intentions were, hath left that Matter just as he found it.

I HAVE lived long in both Kingdoms, as well in Country as in Town; and therefore, take my self to be as well informed as most Men, in the Dispositions of each People towards the other. By the People, I understand here, only the Bulk of the common People; and I desire no Lawyer may distort or extend my Meaning.

THERE is a Vein of Industry and Parsimony, that runs through the whole People of *England*; which, added to the Easiness of their Rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more than they do of *Mexico*; further than that it is a Country subject to the King of *England*, full of Boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish Papists*; who are kept in Awe by mercenary Troops sent from thence: And their general Opinion is, that it were better for *England* if this whole Island were sunk into the Sea: For, they have a Tradition, that every Forty Years there must be a Rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest Suppositions pass upon them; that the *wild Irish* were taken in Toyls; but that, in some Time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your Hands: I have been asked by Hundreds, and particularly by my Neighbours, your Tenants, at *Pepper-hara*; whether I had come from *Ireland* by Sea: And, upon the Arrival of an *Irish-man* to a Country Town, I have known Crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A GENTLEMAN now in *Dublin*, affirms, that passing some Months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole Town in a Lurry, with Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations; upon asking the Cause, was told, it was for Joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood*'s Half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what Sentiments that large Town hath of us; and how little they made it their own Case; although they lie directly in our Way to *London*; and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human Shapes.

AS to the People of this Kingdom, they consist either of *Irish Papists*; who are as inconsiderable, in Point of Power, as the Women and Children; or of *English Protestants*, who love their Brethren of that Kingdom; although they may possibly sometimes complain, when they think they are hardly used: However, I confess, I do not see any great Consequence, how their personal Affections stand to each other, while the Sea divides them; and while they continue in their Loyalty to the same Prince. And yet, I will appeal to you; whether those from *England* have Reason to complain, when they come hither in Pursuit of their Fortunes? Or, whether the People of *Ireland* have Reason to boast, when they go to *England* on the same Design?

MY second Proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free People: This, I suppose, you will allow; at least, with certain Limitations remaining in your own Breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the Words *Liberty* and *Property*, as applied to the Subject, are often mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in yours, and other Courts below; from whence it must follow, that the People of *Ireland* do, or *ought* to enjoy all the Benefits of the common and Statute Law; such as to be tried by Juries, to pay no Money without their own Consent, as represented in Parliament; and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free People cannot, by Law, be compelled to take any Money in Payment, except Gold and Silver; I do not see why any Man should be hindered from cautioning his Countrymen against this Coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring by Fraud to rob us of that Property, which the Laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and that this Copper can be obtruded on us; I would put the *Drapier*'s Case in another

Light, by supposing, that a Person going into his Shop, should agree for Thirty Shillings Worth of Goods, and force the Seller to take his Payment in a Parcel of Copper Pieces, intrinsically not worth above a Crown: I desire to know, whether the *Drapier* would not be actually robbed of Five and Twenty Shillings, and how far he could be said to be Master of his Property? The same Question may be applied to Rents and Debts, on Bond or Mortgage, and to all Kind of Commerce whatsoever.

GIVE me Leave to do what the *Drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked Fact, as it stands in the View of the World.

ONE *William Wood*, Esq; and Hard-ware-man, obtains, by Fraud, a Patent in *England*, to coin 108000 *l.* in Copper, to pass in *Ireland*; leaving us Liberty to take, or to refuse. The People here, in all Sorts of Bodies and Representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this Coin: To justify these Declarations, they generally offer two Reasons; first, because by the Words of the Patent, they are left to their own Choice: And secondly, because they are not obliged by Law: So that here you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a Kingdom on one Side, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the Victory, at the Expence of *Ireland*'s Ruin, and the Profit of one or two Hundred Thousand Pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future Ages will, at least, think it a very singular Scheme.

IF this Fact be truely stated; I must confess, I look upon it as my Duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the Bounds of Truth, of Duty, and of Decency, to warn my Fellow-Subjects, as they value their King, their Country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious Coin; no not so much as one single Half-penny. For, if one single Thief forces the Door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole Crew behind.

AND, while I shall be thus employed, I will never give my self Leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my * *Lord Lieutenant*; whose Person and great Qualities I have always

* *Lord* Carteret.

highly respected; (as I am sure his Excellency will be my Witness) or the Ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *Privy-Council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an Address to his Majesty against Mr. *Wood*'s Coin; which, if it be a Mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a Spreader of false News: But, I confess, I am so great a Stranger to Affairs, that for any Thing I know, the whole Body of the Council may since have been changed: And, although I observed some of the very same Names in a late Declaration against that Coin, which I saw subscribed to the Proclamation against the *Drapier*; yet possibly they may be different Persons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this Controversy, where the Reasoners on each Side are divided by St. *George*'s-Channel, his Majesty's Prerogative, perhaps, would not have been mentioned; if Mr. *Wood*, and his Advocates, had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the Currency of his Coin should be enforced by a Proclamation. The Traders and common People of the Kingdom, were heartily willing to refuse this Coin; but the Fear of a Proclamation brought along with it most dreadful Apprehensions. It was therefore, absolutely necessary for the *Drapier*, to remove this Difficulty; and accordingly, in one of his former Pamphlets, he hath produced invincible Arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the King's Prerogative was not at all concerned in the Matter; since the Law had sufficiently provided against any Coin to be imposed upon the Subject, except Gold and Silver; and that Copper is not Money, but as it hath been properly called, *Nummorum Famulus*.

The three former Letters from the *Drapier*, having not received any publick Censure, I look upon them to be without Exception; and that the good People of the Kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that Spirit raised against this destructive Coin of Mr. *Wood*: As for this last Letter, against which a Proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my Abilities were equal; but being naturally somewhat slow of Comprehension; no Lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good

Designs, without any visible Motive either of Profit or Honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the Cockle from the Corn.

THAT which, I am told, gives greatest Offence in this last Letter, is where the *Drapier* affirms; that if a Rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgress the *Irish* Statute, (which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one King) as to lose every Drop of his Blood, to hinder him from being King of *Ireland*.

I SHALL not presume to vindicate any Man, who openly declares he would transgress a Statute; and a Statute of such Importance: But, with the most humble Submission, and Desire of Pardon for a very innocent Mistake, I should be apt to think that the loyal Intention of the Writer, might be at least some small Extenuation of his Crime. For, in this I confess my self to think with the *Drapier*.

I HAVE not hitherto been told of any other Objections against that Pamphlet; but, I suppose, they will all appear at the Prosecution of the *Drapier*. And, I think, whoever in his own Conscience believes the said Pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministers*, &c. would do well to discover the Author, (as little a Friend as I am to the Trade of Informers) although the Reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the Discovery. I own, it would be a great Satisfaction to me, to hear the Arguments not only of Judges, but of Lawyers, upon this Case. Because, you cannot but know, there often happens Occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore, it hath been the Wisdom of the *English* Parliaments, to be very reserved in limiting the Press. When a Bill is debating in either House of Parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the Controversy handled by Pamphlets on both Sides; without the least Animadversion upon the Authors.

SO here, in the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; since the two Houses gave their Opinion by Addresses, how dangerous the Currency of that Copper would be to *Ireland*; it was, without all

Question, both lawful and convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be let more particularly into the Nature of the Danger they were in; and of the Remedies that were in their own Power, if they would have the Sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular Persons, to whom GOD hath given Zeal and Understanding sufficient for such an Undertaking. Thus it happened in the Case of that destructive Project for a Bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into Parliament a few Years ago; and it was allowed, that the Arguments and Writings of some without Doors, contributed very much to reject it.

NOW, I should be heartily glad if some able Lawyers would prescribe the Limits, how far a private Man may venture in delivering his Thoughts upon publick Matters: Because a true Lover of his Country, may think it hard to be a quiet Stander-by, and an indolent Looker-on, while a publick Error prevails; by which a whole Nation may be ruined. Every Man who enjoys Property, hath some Share in the Publick; and therefore, the Care of the Publick is, in some Degree, every such Man's Concern.

TO come to Particulars, I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any Writer so much as to mention the Prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt, upon any Point whatsoever: I know it is often debated in *Westminster-Hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent Lawyers, do frequently handle that Subject in their Books?

SECONDLY, How far the Prerogative extends to force Coin upon the Subject, which is not Sterling; such as Lead, Brass, Copper, mixt Metal, Shells, Leather, or any other Material; and fix upon it whatever Denomination the Crown shall think fit?

THIRDLY, What is really and truly meant by that Phrase of a *depending Kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*; and wherein that *Dependency* consisteth?

LASTLY, In what Points relating to *Liberty* and *Property*, the People of *Ireland* differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of *England*?

IF these Particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite Ease and Use to the Kingdom; and either prevent or silence all Discontents.

My Lord *Somers*, the greatest Man I ever knew of your Robe; and whose Thoughts of *Ireland* differed as far as Heaven and Earth, from those of some others among his Brethren here; lamented to me, that the Prerogative of the Crown, or the Privileges of Parliament, should ever be liable to Dispute, in any single Branch of either; by which Means, he said, the Publick often suffered great Inconveniences; whereof he gave me several Instances. I produce the Authority of so eminent a Person, to justify my Desires, that some high Points might be cleared.

For want of such known Ascertainment, how far a Writer may proceed in expressing his good Wishes for his Country; a Person of the most innocent Intentions, may possibly, by the Oratory and Comments of Lawyers, be charged with many Crimes, which from his very Soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his Fortunes, and left to rot among Thieves in some stinking Jayl; meerly for mistaking the Purliews of the Law. I have known, in my Life-time, a Printer prosecuted and convicted, for publishing a * Pamphlet; where the Author's Intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent, as those of a Martyr at his last Prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin; and although I never heard that my Sermon gave the least Offence, as I am sure none was intended; yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would ensure it from the Hands of the common Hang-man; or my own Person from those of a Messenger.

I have heard the late Chief Justice *Holt* affirm, that in all criminal Cases, the most favourable Interpretation should be put upon Words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same Position asserted in many Tryals, for the greatest Crimes; though often very ill practiced, by the perpetual Corruption of Judges. And I remember, at a Tryal in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a Gentleman Knave and Villain; the Lawyer for the *Defendant* brought off his Client, by alledging, that the Words were not injurious; for, *Knave* in the old and true

* *Supposed to be*, A Proposal for the universal Use of *Irish* Manufactures, *written by the Author*.

Signification, imported only a Servant; and Villain in *Latin*, is *Villicus*; which is no more than a Man employed in Country Labour; or rather a Baily.

IF Sir *John Holt*'s Opinion were a Standard Maxim for all Times and Circumstances, any Writer, with a very small Measure of Discretion, might easily be safe; but, I doubt, in Practice it hath been frequently controuled, at least before his Time; for I take it to be an old Rule in Law.

I HAVE read, or heard, a Passage of Signior *Lati*, an *Italian*; who being in *London*, busying himself with writing the History of *England*, told King *Charles* the Second, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving Offence, but found it a Thing impossible; although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*: The King answered, that if this were the Case, he had better employ his Time in writing Proverbs as *Solomon* did: But *Lati* lay under no publick Necessity of writing; neither would *England* have been one Half-penny the better, or the worse, whether he writ or no.

THIS I mention, because I know it will readily be objected; what have private Men to do with the Publick? What Call had a *Drapier* to turn Politician, to meddle in Matters of State? Would not his Time have been better employed in looking to his Shop; or his Pen in writing Proverbs, Elegies, Ballads, Garlands, and Wonders? He would then have been out of all Danger of Proclamations, and Prosecutions. Have we not able Magistrates and Counsellors, hourly watching over the Publick-Weal? All this may be true: And yet, when the Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, against Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, failed of Success; if some Pen had not been employed, to inform the People how far they might legally proceed, in refusing that Coin, to detect the Fraud, the Artifice, and Insolence of the Coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom; which would inevitably follow from the Currency of the said Coin; I might appeal to many Hundred Thousand People, Whether any one of them would ever have had the Courage or Sagacity to refuse it.

IF this Copper should begin to make it's Way among the common, ignorant People, we are inevitably undone; it is they

who give us the greatest Apprehension, being easily frighted, and greedy to swallow Misinformations: For, if every Man were wise enough to understand his own Interest, which is every Man's principal Study, there would be no need of Pamphlets upon this Occasion. But, as Things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, to inform the People, that the Proclamation lately issued against the *Drapier*, doth not in the least affect the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; but only refers to certain Paragraphs in the *Drapier*'s last Pamphlet, (not immediately relating to his Subject, nor at all to the Merits of the Cause,) which the Government was pleased to dislike; so that any Man has the same Liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this Coin, which he had before: Neither is any Man obliged to believe, that those honourable Persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable Proclamation against the *Drapier*, have at all changed their Opinions, with regard to Mr. *Wood* or his Coin.

THEREFORE concluding my self to be thus far upon a safe and sure Foot; I shall continue, upon any proper Occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that Spirit raised in the Nation, (whether the real Author were a real *Drapier* or no is little to the Purpose) against this horrid Design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same Time carefully watching every Stroke of my Pen, and venturing only to incur the publick Censure of the World as a Writer; not of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, as a Criminal. Whenever an Order shall come out by Authority, forbidding all Men upon the highest Penalties, to offer any thing in Writing or Discourse against Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence; I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last Man in the Kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: For although I know how to be silent; I have not yet learned to pay active Obedience against my Conscience, and the publick Safety.

I DESIRE to put a Case, which I think the *Drapier*, in some of his Books, hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

YOU know the Copper Half-pence in *England* are coined by the Publick; and every Piece worth pretty tolerably near the

Value of the Copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the publick Coinage, a Patent had been granted to some private, obscure Person, for coining a proportionable Quantity of Copper in that Kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in This; and all of it at least five Times below the intrinsick Value: The current Money of *England* is reckoned to be Twenty Millions; and ours under * Five Hundred Thousand Pounds: By this Computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath Power to give us 108000 Pound; so the Patentee in *England*, by the same Proportion, might circulate Four Millions Three Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds; besides as much more by Stealth and Counterfeits: I desire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addressed upon such an Occasion; what Success they probably would have had; and how many *Drapiers* would have risen to pester the World with Pamphlets: Yet that Kingdom would not be so great a Sufferer as Ours in the like Case; because their Cash would not be conveyed into foreign Countries, but lye hid in the Chests of cautious, thrifty Men, until better Times. Then I desire, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, that you will please to inform me why this Country is treated in so very different a Manner, in a Point of such high Importance; whether it be on Account of *Poining*'s Act; of Subordination; Dependance; or any other Term of Art; which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I AM very sensible, that the good or ill Success of Mr. *Wood*, will affect you less than any Person of Consequence in the Kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your Purchases in *England*; and truly so would I, if I had Money, although I were to pay a Hundred Years Purchase; because I should be glad to possess a Freehold that could not be taken from me by any Law to which I did not give my own Consent; and where I should never be in Danger of receiving my Rents in mixt Copper, at the Loss of Sixteen Shillings in the Pound. You can live in Ease and Plenty at *Pepper-hara*, in *Surrey*; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and publick-spirited in you to be of the Kingdom's Side in this Dispute, by shewing, with-

* *It is since sunk to* 200,000*l.*

out Reserve, your Disapprobation of Mr. *Wood*'s Design; at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other Points; and therefore I could get but few Believers, when I attempted to justify you in this Article from your own Words.

I WOULD humbly offer another Thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *Drapier*'s Observation. If these Half-pence should once gain Admittance; it is agreed, that in no long Space of Time, what by the clandestine Practices of the Coiner, what by his own Counterfeits, and those of others, either from Abroad or at Home; his limited Quantity would be trebled upon us, until there would not be a Grain of Gold or Silver visible in the Nation. This, in my Opinion would lay a heavy Charge upon the Crown, by creating a Necessity of transmitting Money from *England* to pay the Salaries at least of the principal Civil Officers: For I do not conceive how a Judge (for Instance) could support his Dignity with a thousand Pounds a Year in *Wood*'s Coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near Two Hundred. To argue that these Half-pence, if no other Coin were current, would answer the general Ends of Commerce among our selves, is a great Mistake; and the *Drapier* hath made that Matter too clear to admit an Answer; by shewing us what every Owner of Land must be forced to do with the Products of it in such a Distress. You may read his Remarks at large in his second or third Letter; to which I refer you.

BEFORE I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several Months past, there have more Papers been written in this Town, such as they are, all upon the best publick Principle, the Love of our Country, than, perhaps, hath been known in any other Nation, and in so short a Time: I speak in general, from the *Drapier* down to the Maker of *Ballads*; and all without any Regard to the common Motives of Writers; which are Profit, Favour, and Reputation. As to Profit, I am assured by Persons of Credit, that the best Ballad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a Groat to the Author; and the unfortunate Adventurer *Harding*, declares he never made the *Drapier* any Present, except one Pair of Scissars. As to Favour, whoever thinks to make his Court by oppos-

ing Mr. *Wood* is not very deep in Politicks. And as to Reputation, certainly no Man of Worth and Learning, would employ his Pen upon so transitory a Subject, and in so obscure a Corner of the World, to distinguish himself as an Author. So that I look upon my self, the *Drapier*, and my numerous Brethren, to be all true Patriots in our several Degrees.

ALL that the Publick can expect for the future, is only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence; and refer them for Conviction to the *Drapier*'s Reasons. For, a Man of the most superior Understanding, will find it impossible to make the best Use of it, while he writes in Constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out Expressions, for Fear of bringing his Printer, or himself, under a Prosecution from my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my Remembrance the Madman in Don *Quixote*, who being soundly beaten by a Weaver for letting a Stone (which he always carried on his Shoulder) fall upon a Spaniel, apprehended that every Cur he met was of the same Species.

FOR these Reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes, in the least, to preserve that Union among us for opposing this fatal Project of Mr. *Wood*, my Pains will not be altogether lost.

I SENT these Papers to an eminent Lawyer (and yet a Man of Virtue and Learning into the Bargain) who, after many Alterations returned them back, with assuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the least Mixture of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, Malice, Disaffection, Reflection, or wicked Insinuation whatsoever.

IF the *Bell-man* of each Parish, as he goes his Circuit, would cry out, every Night, *Past Twelve a Clock; Beware of* Wood's *Half-pence*; it would probably cut off the Occasion for publishing any more Pamphlets; provided that in Country Towns it were done upon Market-Days. For my own Part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against Law, I will begin the Experiment in the Liberty of St. *Patrick*'s; and hope my Example may be followed in the whole City. But if Authority shall think fit to forbid all Writings, or Discourses upon this Subject, except such as are in Favour of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only

when I am in Danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the Reeds, not any Reflection upon the Wisdom of my Countrymen; but only these few Words, BEWARE OF WOOD's HALF-PENCE.

I am,
with due Respect,
Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant,

Deanry House, J.S.
Oct. 26, 1724.

AN HUMBLE
ADDRESS
TO BOTH
Houses of PARLIAMENT

AN HUMBLE
ADDRESS*
TO BOTH
Houses of PARLIAMENT

By M. B. *Drapier.*

Multa gemens ignominiam Plagasq; superbi
Victoris.——

I HAVE been told, that *Petitions* and *Addresses*, either to King or Parliament, are the Right of every Subject; provided they consist with that Respect, which is due to Princes and great Assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *Proposals*, or *Opinions* of private Men, have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the Style of *Advice*; which is a Presumption far from my Thoughts. However, if *Proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every Man may be suffered to declare his own and the Nation's *Wishes*. For Instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further Laws were enacted for the Advancement of *Trade*, for the Improvement of *Agriculture*, now strangely neglected, against the Maxim of all wise Nations: For supplying the manifest Defects in the Acts concerning Plantation of Trees: For setting the Poor to Work, and many others.

UPON this Principle, I may venture to affirm; it is the hearty *Wish* of the whole Nation, very few excepted; that the Parliament in this Session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable Fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, Hard-ware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own Votes and Addresses, procured a Patent in *England*,

* *Writ before the Lord* Carteret *came over, and soon after the fourth* Drapier's *Letter.*

for coining Half-pence in that Kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the *Wish* of the whole Nation, *very few excepted*; and upon Account of those *few*, is more strongly and justly the *Wish* of the rest: Those *few* consisting either of *Wood*'s Confederates, some obscure Tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak Judgment, and strong Ambition; who think to find their Accounts in the Ruin of the Nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such Men proceed upon a System of Politicks, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter Strangers; I shall humbly lay it before you.

BE pleased to suppose me in a Station of Fifteen Hundred Pounds a Year, Salary and Perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a Year, real Estate. Then, suppose a destructive Project be on Foot; such, for Instance, as this of *Wood*; which if it succeed, in all the Consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the Rents and Wealth of the Kingdom one Half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five Sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this Project, will *please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted.* Nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my Gain and my Loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my Employment ten Years, (not to mention the fair Chance of a better.) This, at 1500*l.* a Year, amounts, in ten Years, to 15000*l.* My Estate, by the Success of the said Project, sinks 400*l.* a Year; which at Twenty Years Purchase, is but 8000*l.* so that I am a clear Gainer of 7000*l.* upon the Ballance. And during all that Period, I am possessed of *Power* and *Credit*, can gratify my *Favourites*, and take Vengeance of my *Enemies*. And if the Project miscarry, my private *Merit* is still entire. This *Arithmetick*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practiced, and applied in Conjunctures, whereon depended the *Ruin* or *Safety* of a Nation: Although, probably the Charity and Virtue of a *Senate*, will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such Monsters among Mankind. And yet, the wise Lord *Bacon* mentions a Sort of People, (I doubt the Race is not yet extinct) who would *set a House on Fire*, for the Convenience of roasting their own Eggs at the Flame.

BUT whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned

his Thoughts to observe the Course of publick Affairs in this Kingdom, from the Time of the *Revolution*; must acknowledge, that the highest Points of Interest and Liberty, have been often sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of particular Persons, upon the very Principles and *Arithmetick* that I have supposed: The only Wonder is, how these *Artists* were able to prevail upon Numbers; and influence even publick Assemblies to become Instruments for effecting their execrable Designs.

It is, I think, in all Conscience, *Latitude* enough for *Vice*, if a Man in *Station* be allowed to act Injustice, upon the *usual* Principles of *getting a Bribe*, *wrecking his Malice*, *serving his Party*, or *consulting his Preferment*; while his Wickedness terminates in the Ruin only of *particular* Persons. But, to deliver up our *whole* Country, and every living Soul who inhabits it, to *certain* Destruction; hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *Casuists* on the Side of *Corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* Employment whatsoever, above the Degree of a *Constable*, (according to the Scheme and Intention of a * *great Minister gone to his own Place*) than to live under the daily Apprehension of a few *false Brethren* among our selves. Because, in the former Case we should be wholly free from the Danger of being betrayed; since none could *then* have Impudence enough to *pretend* any publick Good.

It is true, that in this desperate Affair of the new *Half-pence*, I have not heard of any Man above my own Degree of a Shopkeeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as, in *direct Terms*, to vindicate the fatal Project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying Expressions* which were used, and very *gentle Expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under Debate: But, since the Eyes of the People have been so far opened, that the most Ignorant can plainly see their own Ruin, in the Success of *Wood*'s Attempt; these GRAND COMPOUNDERS have been more cautious.

But that the same Spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other Instances of great Compliance) from *certain*

* *The late Earl of* Sunderland.

Circumstances, that have attended some *late Proceedings* in a *Court* of Judicature*. There is not any Common-place more frequently insisted on, by those who treat of our Constitution, than the great Happiness and Excellency of Tryals by *Juries*; yet if this blessed Part of our Law be eludible at Pleasure, by the Force of *Power*, *Frowns*, and *Artifice*; we shall have little Reason to boast of our Advantage, in this Particular, over other States or Kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely, these *high* Proceedings, exercised in a Point that so nearly concerned the *Life-Blood* of the People, their *necessary Subsistence*, their very *Food* and *Raiment*, and even the *publick Peace*; will not allow any favourable *Appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant Zeal* could have no other Design, or produce any other Effect, than to *damp* that *Spirit* raised in the Nation against this accursed Scheme of *William Wood*, and his *Abettors*; to which *Spirit* alone, we owe, and for ever must owe, our being *hitherto* preserved, and our Hopes of being preserved for the future; if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *Your* wise Assemblies. I wish I could account for such a Demeanor upon a more *charitable* Foundation, than that of putting our Interest in over-Balance with the Ruin of our Country.

I REMEMBER some Months ago, when this Affair was fresh in Discourse; a Person near allyed to *SOMEBODY*, or (as the Hawkers called Him) *NOBODY*, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his Acquaintance, to shew the bad Consequences that might follow from any publick Resentment to the Disadvantage of his *ALLY*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the Danger of all Employments being disposed of from *England*. One of these *Emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *Topick*: I answered, naturally, that I knew there was no Office of *any* Kind, which a Man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the Disadvantage of being born here, as only in the Condition of *Leasers* and *Gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known Fable of the Countryman, who entreated his *Ass* to fly for Fear of being taken by the *Enemy*; but

* *By Chief Justice* Whitshed.

the Ass refused to give himself that Trouble; and upon a very wise Reason; because he could not possibly change his present Master for a *worse*: The *Enemy* could not make him *fare harder*; *beat him more cruelly*; nor load him with *heavier Burthens*.

UPON these, and many other Considerations, I may affirm it to be the *Wish* of the whole Nation, that the Power and Privileges of *Juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the Legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *Censure*; not from any Hope that such a *Censure* will amend their *Practices*, or hurt their *Interest*, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*:) but that the Nation may know their *Enemies* from their *Friends*.

I SAY not this with any Regard or View to my self; for I write in great Security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my Expence further than by shewing their *Zeal* to *discover*, *prosecute*, and *condemn* me, for endeavouring to do my Duty in serving my Country: And yet I am conscious to my self that I never had the least Intention to *reflect on His Majesty's Ministers*, nor on any other Person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, not do *yet* conceive to be of *that Number*. However, some would have it, that I WENT TOO FAR; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have GONE FURTHER; and I think I could not easily have FARED WORSE. And therefore I was no further affected with *their Proclamation*, and subsequent Proceedings, than a good Clergyman is with the *Sins* of the People. And as to the poor *Printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a RIGHTEOUS Tribunal.

AS my Intention is only to lay before your great Assemblies, the general Wishes of the Nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *Wish* that your *first* Proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious Fraud of *William Wood*; so I must add, as the universal Opinion, that all *Schemes* of *Commutation*, *Composition*, and the like *Expedients*, either *avowed* or *implyed*, will be of the most pernicious Consequences to the Publick; against the Dignity of a FREE Kingdom; and prove an Encouragement to future *Adventurers* in the same destructive Projects. For, it is a Maxim, which no Man at present disputes, that

even a *Connivance* to admit One Thousand Pounds in these HALF-PENCE, will produce, in Time, the same ruinous Effects, as if we openly consented to admit a Million. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave Things in the doubtful, melancholly State they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general Aversion of our People against this Coin; using all honest Endeavours to preserve, continue, and encrease that Aversion, than submit to apply those *Palliatives* which *weak*, *perfidious*, or *abject Politicians*, are, upon all *Occasions*, and in all *Diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

In the small Compass of my Reading, (which, however, hath been more extensive than is usual to Men of my inferior Calling) I have observed that *Grievances* have always preceded *Supplies*; and if ever *Grievances* had a Title to such a Pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood*; because it is not only the greatest *Grievance* that any Country could suffer, but a *Grievance* of such a Kind that, if it should take Effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *Supplies* at all; except in *adulterate Copper*; unless a Tax were laid for paying the Civil and Military Lists, and the *large* Pensions, with real Commodities instead of Money; which, however, might be lyable to some few Objections as well as Difficulties: For although the *common Soldiers* might be content with *Beef* and *Mutton*, and *Wool*, and *Malt*, and *Leather*; yet I am in some Doubt as to the *Generals*, the *Colonels*, the *numerous Pensioners*, the *Civil Officers*, and others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish Pay*; as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one Particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former Papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the History of any Age or Country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *Astonishment*.

After the unanimous Addresses to His Sacred Majesty, against this Patent of *Wood*, from both Houses of Parliament, which are the *Three Estates* of the Kingdom; and likewise an Address from the Privy Council, to whom, under the Chief Governors, the whole Administration is entrusted; the Matter

is referred to a Committee of Council in *London*. *Wood*, and his Adherents, are heard on one Side; and a few *Volunteers*, without any Trust or Direction from hence, on the other. The Question, (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the Want of *Half-pence* in *Ireland*: Witnesses are called on the Behalf of *Wood* (of what Credit I have formerly shewn:) Upon the Issue the Patent is found good and legal; all His Majesty's Officers here, (not excepting the *Military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual. The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, of the Privy Council; and of the City of *Dublin*: The Declarations of most Counties and Corporations through the Kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no Weight, Consequence, or Consideration whatsoever: And the whole Kingdom of *Ireland non-suited*, in default of Appearance; as if it were a private Cause between *John Dow*, Plaintiff, and *William Row*, Defendant.

WITH great Respect to those honourable Persons, the Committee of Council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *Governors*, *Counsellors*, or *Judges*. Neither did our Case turn at all upon the Question, whether *Ireland* wanted *Half-pence* or no. For there is no doubt, but we do want both Half-pence, Gold and Silver; and we have *numberless* other *Wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name; although they are peculiar to this Nation; to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *Religion* and *Laws*, or any Degree of *Soil* and *Sunshine*: But, for what *Demerits* on our Side, I am altogether in the Dark.

BUT, I do not remember, that our Want of Half-pence was either affirmed, or denied in any of our Addresses or Declarations, against those of *Wood*: We alledged, the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his Patent, the Baseness of his Metal, the prodigious Sum to be coined, which might be encreased by Stealth, from foreign Importation and his own Counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little Gold and Silver, and all our poor Remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* Trade: We urged, that the Patent was passed without the least Reference hither; and without Mention of any *Security* given by *Wood*, to receive his own Half-pence upon Demand; both which are contrary to all former Proceedings in the like

Cases. These, and many other Arguments we offered; but still the Patent went on, and at this Day our Ruin would have been half compleated; if God, in his Mercy, had not raised an universal Detestation of these Half-pence, in the whole Kingdom; with a firm Resolution never to receive them; since we are not under Obligations to do so by any *Law*, either *Human* or *Divine*.

BUT, in the Name of *God*, and of all *Justice* and *Piety*; when the King's Majesty was pleased that this Patent should pass; is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed*, and *intended* it as a gracious Act, for the Good and Benefit of his Subjects, for the Advantage of a great and fruitful Kingdom; of the most *loyal* Kingdom upon Earth, where no *Hand* or *Voice* was ever lifted up against him; a Kingdom where the Passage is not of three Hours from *Britain*; and a Kingdom where *Papists* have less *Power*, and less *Land*, than in *England*? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majesty's Ministers understood and proposed the same End, *the Good of this Nation*, when they advised the passing this Patent? Can the *Person* of *Wood* be otherwise regarded, than as the *Instrument*, the *Mechanick*, the *Head-workman*, to prepare his Furnace, his Fuel, his Metal, and his Stamps? If I employ a *Shoe-boy*, is it in view to his Advantage, or to my own Convenience? I mention the *Person* of *William Wood* alone; because *no other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *Surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real Foundation.

ALLOWING therefore, (for we cannot do less) that this Patent, for the coining of Half-pence, was wholly intended, by a gracious King, and a *wise publick-spirited* Ministry, for the Advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole Kingdom to a Man, for whose Good the Patent was designed, do, upon maturest Consideration, universally join, in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these Half-pence, as the most ruinous Project that ever was set on Foot, to compleat the Slavery and Destruction of a poor innocent Country: *Is it*, *was it*, *can it*, or *will it* ever be a Question, not whether such a Kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a Gainer; but whether such a Kingdom should be *wholly undone*, *destroyed*, *sunk*, *depopulated*, made the Scene of *Misery* and *Desolation*, for the Sake of *William Wood*? GOD, of his infinite Mercy, avert this dreadful Judge-

ment; and it is our universal *Wish*, that GOD would put it into *your* Hearts to be his Instruments for so good a Work.

FOR my own Part, who am but *one* Man, of obscure Condition, I do solemnly declare, in the Presence of Almighty GOD, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing Death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed Coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same Objections, until they shall be forced upon me, by a Law of *my own Country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport my self into some *foreign* Land, and eat the *Bread of Poverty* among a *free* People.

AM I legally punishable for these Expressions? Shall *another Proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my Country's Part against *William Wood*; where her final Destruction is intended? But, whenever YOU shall please to impose *Silence* upon me, I will submit; because, I look upon your *unanimous Voice* to be the *Voice* of the Nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe to be, in some Manner, the *Voice* of *God*.

THE great Ignominy of a whole Kingdom, lying so long at *Mercy*, under so *vile* an Adversary, is such a deplorable Aggravation, that the utmost Expressions of Shame and Rage, are too low to set it forth; and therefore, I shall leave it to receive such a Resentment, as is worthy of a *Parliament*.

IT is likewise our universal *Wish*, that his Majesty would grant Liberty to coin Half-pence in this Kingdom, for our own Use; under such Restrictions as a Parliament *here* shall advise: Since the Power of coining even Gold and Silver, is possessed by every *petty* Prince abroad; and was always practiced by *Scotland*, to the very Time of the *Union*; yet surely *Scotland*, as to Soil, Climate, and Extent, is not, in it's self, a fourth Part the Value of *Ireland*; (for Bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above a fortieth Part in Value, to the rest of *Britain*) and with respect to the Profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty Thousandth Part. Although I must confess, that a *Mote* in the *Eye*, or a *Thorn* in the *Side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *Beam*, or a *Spike* at *Distance*.

THE Histories of *England*, and of most other Countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical Effects, from the Abuses of *Coin*; by debasing the Metal, by

lessening, or enhancing the Value upon *Occasions*, to the publick Loss; of which we have an Example, within our own Memory in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the *tenderest* Point of Government, affecting every Individual, in the highest Degree. When the Value of Money is *arbitrary*, or *unsettled*; no Man can well be said to have any *Property* at all; nor is any Wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting Scars behind it.

I CONCEIVE this poor unhappy Island, to have a Title to some *Indulgence* from *England*; not only upon the Score of *Christianity*, *natural Equity*, and the *general Rights of Mankind*; but chiefly on Account of that *immense Profit* they receive from us; without which, that Kingdom would make a very *different* Figure in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

THE Rents of Land in *Ireland*, since they have been *of late* so enormously raised, and screwed up, may be computed to about two Millions; whereof one third Part, at least, is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual Absentees in *England*; as I find by a Computation made with the Assistance of several skilful Gentlemen.

THE other Articles by which we are altogether Losers, and *England* a Gainer; we found to amount to almost as much more. I will only set down as many Heads of them as I can remember; and leave them to the Consideration of those, who understand Accounts better than I pretend to do.

THE *Occasional* Absentees, for Business, Health, or Diversion.

THREE Fourths of the Revenue of the chief Governor, during his Absence; which is usually four Fifths of his Government.

THE whole Revenue of the *Post-Office*.

THE *numerous Pensions* paid to Persons in *England*.

THE Pay of the chief Officers of the Army absent in *England*, which is a great Sum.

FOUR Commissioners of the Revenue, always absent.

CIVIL Employments very numerous, and of great Income.

THE vast Charge of Appeals to the House of Lords, and to the Court of Delegates.

STUDENTS at the Inns of Courts, and the two Universities.

EIGHTY Thousand Pounds sent yearly to *England*, for Coals;

whereof the prime Cost is nothing; and therefore, the Profit wholly theirs.

ONE Hundred Thousand Pounds paid several Years past, for Corn sent over hither from *England*; the Effect of our own *great Wisdom* in discourageing *Agriculture*.

THE *kind* Liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* Stuffs, and Calicoes, to gratify the Vanity and Folly of our Women; which, beside the Profit to *England*, is an unconceivable Loss to us; forcing the Weavers to beg in our Streets, or transport themselves to foreign Countries.

THE prodigious Loss to us, and Gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *Wool* at their own Rates; whereof the Manufacture exceeds above ten Times the prime Cost: *A Proceeding without Example in the Christian or Heathen World.*

OUR own *Wool* returned upon us, in *English* Manufactures, to our infinite Shame and Damage; and the great Advantage of *England*.

THE full Profit of all our *Mines* accruing to *England*; an Effect of great Negligence and Stupidity.

AN Affectation among us, of liking all Kinds of Goods made in *England*.

NOTE, Many of the above Articles have been since particularly computed by another Writer, to whose Treatise the Reader is referred.

THESE and many other Articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious Men to amount to near seven Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* clear Profit to *England*. And, upon the whole, let any Man look into those Authors who write upon the Subject of *Commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single Article in the Essentials, or Circumstances of Trade, whereby a Country can be a *Loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest Perfection*; somewhat, in every Particular, that bears a Kind of *Analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the *Branches* are all cut off, he stands ready with his *Ax* at the *Root*.

UPON this Subject of *perpetual Absentees*, I have spent some Time in very insignificant Reflections; and considering the usual Motives of human Actions, which are *Pleasure*, *Profit*, and *Ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those Persons find

their Account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English* Peers or Gentlemen, who, beside their Estates at home, have Possessions here; for, in that Case, the Matter is desperate; but I mean those Lords, and wealthy Knights, or Squires, whose Birth, and partly their Education, and *all* their Fortune (except some Trifle, and that in very few Instances) are in this Kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during several Years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover that the *Figure* they made was, by any Means, a Subject for *Envy*; at least it gave me *two very different Passions*: For, excepting the Advantage of going now and then to an *Opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a Croud* at Court; or adding to the Ring of *Coaches* in *Hide-Park*, or losing their Money at the *Chocolate-House*; or getting News, Votes, and Minutes, about five Days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these, and a few other Privileges of *less* Importance, their Temptations to live in *London*, were beyond my Knowledge or Conception. And I used to wonder, how a Man of Birth and Spirit, could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign* Country, when he might live with Lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that Expence, which he *strains* himself to make, without obtaining any *one* End; except that which happened to the *Frog* when he would needs contend for Size with the *Ox*. I have been told by Scholars, that *Cæsar* said, he would rather be the *first* Man, in I know not what Village, than the *second* in *Rome*. This, perhaps, was a Thought only fit for *Cæsar*: But to be *preceded* by *Thousands*, and *neglected* by *Millions*; to be wholly without *Power*, *Figure*, *Influence*, *Honour*, *Credit*, or *Distinction*, is not, in my poor Opinion, a very *amiable Situation* of Life, to a Person of *Title*, or *Wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his native Country.

BUT, besides the depopulating of the Kingdom, the leaving so many Parts of it wild and uncultivated, the Ruin of so many Country-Seats and Plantations, the cutting down all the Woods to supply Expences in *England*; the Absence of so many noble and wealthy Persons, hath been the Cause of *another fatal Consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* Number of Lords, who possess the amplest Fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the Affairs of

their own Country in *Parliament*; the Weight, Reputation, and Dignity thereby added to that noble House, would, in all human Probability, have prevented *certain Proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*; because they *never can be remedied*: And we might have then *decided our own Properties among our selves*, without being forced to travel five Hundred Miles by Sea and Land, to *another Kingdom*, for Justice; to our infinite Expence, Vexation, and Trouble: Which is a Mark of *Servitude* without Example, from the Practice of any Age or Nation in the World.

I HAVE sometimes wondered, upon what Motive the Peerage of *England* were so desirous to determine *our* Controversies; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent *Appeals* from hence, have been very *irksome* to that illustrious Body; and whoever hath frequented the *painted Chamber*, and *Court of Requests*, must have observed, that they are never so *nobly* filled, as when an *Irish* Appeal is under Debate.

THE Peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their Castles and Houses, in that *bleak and barren Climate*; and although some of them made frequent Journies to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greatest Families, till very lately, to have made *England* their constant Habitation, before the *Union*: Or, if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own Advantage*; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and encrease their own Estates; and by that Means enrich themselves and their Country.

AS to the great Number of rich *Absentees*, under the Degree of *Peers*; what particular ill Effects their Absence may have upon this Kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a Point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another Kingdom, upon great Estates here; and have lost all Regards to their own Country, further then upon Account of the *Revenues they receive from it*: I say, whether such Persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant Seats*, who have no Interest here, except a precarious Employment; and consequently can have no Views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: This, I am sure, is a very melancholly Question, *if it be a Question at all.*

BUT, besides the prodigious Profit which *England* receives by

the transmittal thither of two Thirds of the Revenues of this whole Kingdom; it hath another mighty Advantage, by making our Country a *Receptacle*, wherein to *disburthen* themselves of their *supernumerary* Pretenders to Offices; Persons of second-rate Merit in their own Country; who, like *Birds of Passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *Credit* and *Employments* are at an End. So that *Ireland* may justly say what *Luther* said of himself; *Poor* Ireland *maketh many rich.*

IF amidst all our Difficulties, I should venture to assert, that we have one great Advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought; I believe most of my Readers would be long in conjecturing what *possible* Advantage could ever fall to our Share. However, it is certain, that all the *Regular Seeds* of *Party* and *Faction* among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* Generation, without any Seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a Degree of Stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the Score of our *Birth-place* and *Climate.*

THE *Parties* in this Kingdom (including those of modern Date) are, First, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the Pretender*; and those who were *zealous Opposers of him.* Secondly, of those who were *for and against a Toleration of* Dissenters *by Law.* Thirdly, of *High and Low Church*; or, (to speak in the *Cant* of the Times) of *Whig* and *Tory*: And, Fourthly, of *Court and Country.* If there be any more, they are beyond my Observation or Politicks: For as to *subaltern* or *occasional Parties*, they have all been *Derivations* from the same Originals.

NOW, it is manifest, that all these Incitements to *Faction*, *Party*, and *Division* are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *Pretender*, his Cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: There are very few now alive who were *Men* in his Father's Time, and in that Prince's Interest; and in all others, the Obligation of Conscience hath no Place; even the *Papists* in general, of any Substance, or Estates, and their *Priests* almost universally, are what we call *Whigs* in the Sense which by that Word is generally understood. They feel the *Smart*, and see the *Scars* of their former *Wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *Sacrifice* to the least Attempts towards a *Change*; although it can-

not be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *Superstition* restored, under *any* Prince whatsoever.

SECONDLY, The *Dissenters* are now *tolerated by Law*; neither do we observe any *Murmurs* at present from that Quarter, except those *reasonable* Complaints they make of *Persecution*, because they are excluded from Civil Employments; but their Number being very small in either *House* of Parliament, they are not *yet* in a Scituation to erect a *Party*: Because, however indifferent Men may be with regard to *Religion*, they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that if such a *Latitude* were allowed to *Dissenters*; the few small Employments left us in Cities and Corporations, would find *other Hands* to lay hold on them.

THIRDLY, The Dispute between *High* and *Low Church* is now at an End; two Thirds of the *Bishops* having been promoted in *this* Reign, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* Preferments in their Gift to those they could well *confide in*: The *Deanries* all except Three, and many principal Church Livings, are in the Donation of the Crown: So that we already possess *such a Body of Clergy* as will never engage in Controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* Subject.

LASTLY, As to *Court* and *Country Parties*, so famous and avowed under most Reigns in *English* Parliaments: This Kingdom hath not, for several Years past been a proper Scene whereon to exercise such Contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great Employments for Life being in *distant* Hands, and the *Reversions diligently watched and secured*; the temporary Ones of any *inviting* Value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop; and the few remaining, are of too low Consideration to create Contests about them, except among younger Brothers, or Tradesmen like my self. And, therefore, to institute a *Court* and *Country Party* without *Materials*, would be a very new System in Politicks, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor, unless in *a Nation of Ideots*, can ever succeed. For the most ignorant *Irish* Cottager will not *sell his Cow for a Groat*.

THEREFORE, I conclude, that all *Party* and *Faction*, with regard to publick Proceedings, are now extinguished in this King-

dom; * neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive*; unless some new Causes be administred; which cannot be done without *crossing the Interests of those who are greatest Gainers by continuing the same Measures*. And, general Calamities *without Hope of Redress*, are allowed to be the great *Uniters* of Mankind.

HOWEVER we may dislike the *Causes*; yet this *Effect* of begetting an universal Concord among us in all *National Debates*, as well as in *Cities*, *Corporations*, and *Country Neighbourhoods*, may keep us at least alive, and in a Condition to eat the little Bread allowed us in *Peace* and *Amity*. I have heard of a Quarrel in a Tavern, where all were at Daggers-drawing, till one of the Company cryed out, desiring to know the *Subject of the Quarrel*; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their Swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the Evening in *Quiet*. The *former Part* hath been our Case; I hope the *latter* will be so too; that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *Something* that may give us a Title to fall out; since Nature hath instructed even a Brood of *Goslings* to *stick together* while the *Kite* is hovering over their Heads.

IT is certain, that a firm *Union* in any Country, where every Man wishes the same Thing with relation to the Publick, may, in several Points of the greatest Importance, in some Measure, supply the *Defect of Power*; and even of *those Rights which are the natural and undoubted Inheritance of Mankind*. If the universal *Wish* of the Nation upon any Point, were declared by the *unanimous* Vote of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of Lords; I should think my self obliged in Conscience to act in my Sphere according to that Vote; because, in all free Nations, I take the proper Definition of *Law* to be *the Will of the Majority of those who have the Property in Land*; which, if there be a Monarchy, is to be confirmed by the Royal Assent. And, although such *Votes* or *Declarations* have not received such a Confirmation, for certain *accidental Reasons*; yet I think they ought to be of much Weight with the *Subject*; provided they neither oppose the King's Prerogative, endanger the Peace of the Nation, nor in-

* *Note, Since this Discourse was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the Author was much mistaken in his Conjectures.*

fringe any Law already in Force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for Instance, if Nine in Ten of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of native temporal Peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *Brass Coin*, except under certain Limitations and Securities, should be deemed as *Enemies to the King and the Nation*; I should think it a heinous Sin in my self to act contrary to such a Vote: And, if the same Power should declare the same *Censure* against those who wore *Indian* Stuffs and *Calicoes*, or *Woolen Manufactures imported from Abroad*, whereby this Nation is reduced to the lowest Ebb of Misery; I should *readily*, *heartily*, *chearfully* pay Obedience; and to my utmost Power *persuade* others to do the like: Because, there is no *Law* of this Land obliging us either to *receive such Coin*, or to *wear such foreign Manufactures*.

* UPON this last Article, I could humbly wish that the Reverend the *Clergy* would set us an Example, by contenting themselves with wearing Gowns, and other Habiliments of *Irish* Drapery; which, as it would be some Incitement to the *Laity*, and set many Hands to Work; so they would find their Advantage in the *Cheapness*; which is a Circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable Body. † And, in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious Artists of the Weaving Trade, would contrive some decent Stuffs and Silks for *Clergymen*, at reasonable Rates.

I HAVE pressed several of our most substantial Brethren, that the whole Corporations of *Weavers* in Silk and Woollen, would publish some *Proposals*, (I wish they would do it to both Houses of Parliament) inviting Persons of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, to wear the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of our own Country; entring into solemn, mutual Engagements, that the Buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable Ware for his Money; and at a certain Rate, without the Trouble of cheapning: So that, if I sent a Child for a Piece of Stuff of a particular

* Note, *This hath since been put in Practice, by the Persuasions, and Influence of the supposed Author; but much defeated by the most infamous Fraud of Shopkeepers.*

† *This Scheme was likewise often urged to the Weavers by the supposed Author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in Practice.*

Colour and Fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had Reason to complain, the Corporation should give me immediate Satisfaction; and the Name of the Tradesman who did me the Wrong, should be published; and Warning given not to deal with Him for the future; unless the Matter plainly appeared to be a Mistake: For, besides the Trouble of going from Shop to Shop; an ignorant Customer runs the Hazard of being cheated in the Price and Goodness of what he buys; being forced to an unequal Combat with a dextrous, and dishonest Man, in his own Calling. Thus our Goods fall under a general Disreputation; and the Gentry call for *English* Cloth, or Silk, from an Opinion they have (and often too justly by our own Faults) that the *Goodness* more than makes up for the Difference of Price.

BESIDES, it hath been the sottish and ruinous Practice of us Tradesmen, upon any great Demand of Goods, either at Home or from Abroad, to raise the Prices immediately, and manufacture the said Goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

OF this foul and foolish Proceeding, too many Instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor Kingdom hath received such a fatal Blow in the *only Article of Trade* allowed us of any Importance, that nothing but the Success of *Wood*'s Project, could outdo it. During the late Plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their Linnen Cloths in that Kingdom, not daring to venture thither for Fear of Infection; a very great Demand was made here for that Commodity, and exported to *Spain*: But, whether by the Ignorance of the Merchants, or Dishonesty of the *Northern* Weavers, or the Collusion of both; the Ware was so bad, and the Price so excessive, that except some small Quantity, which was sold below the prime Cost, the greatest Part was returned back: And I have been told by very intelligent Persons, that if we had been fair Dealers, the whole Current of the Linnen Trade to *Spain* would have taken its Course from hence.

IF any Punishment were to be inflicted on *Numbers of Men*; surely there could none be thought too great for such a Race of *Traytors*, and *Enemies* to God and their Country; who for the Prospect of a little *present* Gain, do not only ruin themselves, (for that alone would be an *Example* to the rest, and a *Blessing* to

the Nation) but sell their Souls to Hell, and their Country to Destruction: And, if the *Plague* could have been confined only to these who were *Partakers in the Guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those Wretches would have died with less Title to *Pity*, than a *Highwayman* going to the Gallows.

BUT, it happens very *unluckily*, that, for *some Time past*, all Endeavours or Proposals from private Persons, to advance the publick Service; however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE: And this, to my Knowledge, hath been the Style of *some Persons*, whose *Ancestors*, (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves*, have been *flying in Princes's Faces* these four Score Years; and from their own Inclinations would do so still, if their Interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the Face of* a Kingdom; which hath given them *Wings* to enable them for such a *Flight*.

THUS, about four Years ago, when a * Discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our People to wear their own Woollen Manufactures, full of the most dutiful Expressions to the King, and without the least *Party Hint*; it was termed *flying in the King's Face*; the *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and, I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*) the *Jury* kept eleven Hours, and sent back nine Times, till they were under the Necessity of leaving the Prisoner to the Mercy of the Court, by a *special Verdict*. The † *Judge* on the Bench *invoking God for his Witness*, when he asserted, that the Author's Design was to bring in the *Pretender*.

AND thus also, my own poor Endeavours to prevent the Ruin of my Country, by the Admission of *Wood*'s Coin, was called by the same Persons, *flying in the King's Face*; which I directly deny: For I cannot allow that *vile* Representation of the Royal *Countenance* in *William Wood*'s adulterate Copper, to be his sacred Majesty's *Face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *Impression*, but the *Baseness* of the *Metal*; because I well remembered, that the *Image* which *Nebuchadnezer commanded to be set up, for all Men to fall down and worship it*, was not of COPPER,

* *The Author here means a preceding Discourse, entitled,* A Proposal for the universal Use of *Irish* Manufactures. [*See* Vol. IX]

† NOTE, Judge *Whitshed.*

but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few *Royal Images* of that *Metal* among us; the Sight whereof, although it could hardly encrease our Veneration for his Majesty, which is already so great; yet would very much *enliven* it with a Mixture of *Comfort* and *Satisfaction.*

ALEXANDER the Great, would suffer no Statuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his Image in Stone or Metal. How must he have treated such an Operator as *Wood*, who goes about with *Sacks-full* of *Dross*; odiously misrepresenting his Prince's *Countenance*; and would force them, by Thousands, upon every one of us, at above *six Times the Value.*

BUT, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself; together with his *Favourers*, *Abettors*, *Supporters*, either *publick* or *private*; by those who *connive* at his Project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *Opposers*, for fear of lessening their *Favour*, or hazarding their *Employments*; by those who endeavour to *damp* the *Spirit* of the People raised against this Coin; or check the honest Zeal of such as by their *Writings*, or *Discourses*, do all they can to keep it up: Those *Softners*, *Sweetners*, *Compounders*, and *Expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their *Heads* so strongly, that we can *hear their Pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the Practices of such *Enemies* to the Kingdom, I was *flying in the King's Face*; or thought they were better *Representers* of his Majesty, than that very *Coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* Advocates.

IF I were allowed to recite only those *Wishes* of the Nation, which may be in our Power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

FIRST, That an End might be put to our Apprehensions of *Wood*'s Half-pence, and to any Danger of the *like* destructive Scheme for the future.

SECONDLY; That Half-pence might be coined in this Kingdom, by a publick Mint, with due Limitations.

THIRDLY, That the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty Votes*, against wearing any Silk or Woollen Manufactures, imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing *Indian* Silks or Calicoes, which are forbidden under the

highest Penalties in *England*: And it behoves us, to take Example from so wise a Nation; because we are under a *greater Necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any Woollen Manufactures of our own; which is the principal Branch of foreign Trade in *England*.

FOURTHLY, That some effectual Methods may be taken to civilize the poorer Sort of our Natives, in all those Parts of this Kingdom where the *Irish* abound; by introducing among them our Language and Customs; for want of which they live in the utmost Ignorance, Barbarity and Poverty; giving themselves wholly up to Idleness, Nastyness, and Thievery, to the very great and just Reproach of too many Landlords. And, if I had in me the least Spirit of a *Projector*, I would engage that this might be effected in a few Years, at a very inconsiderable Charge.

FIFTHLY, That due Encouragement should be given to *Agriculture*; and a Stop put to that pernicious Practice of Graziers, engrossing vast Quantities of Land, sometimes at great Distance; whereby the Country is extremely depopulated.

SIXTHLY, That the Defects in those Acts for planting Forrest Trees, might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the Demesnes of a few Gentlemen; and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due Care taken to preserve what is planted, or to inclose Grounds; not one Hedge, in a Hundred, coming to Maturity, for want of Skill and Industry. The Neglect of *copsing* Woods cut down, hath likewise been of very evil Consequences. And if Men were restrained from that unlimited Liberty of *cutting down their own Woods* before the proper Time, as they are in some other Countries; it would be a mighty Benefit to the Kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another Example in *Europe*, of such a prodigious Quantity of excellent Timber cut down, in so short a Time, with so little Advantage to the Country, either in *Shipping* or *Building*.

I MAY add, that absurd Practice of cutting *Turf*, without any Regularity; whereby great Quantities of restorable Land are made utterly desperate, many Thousands of Cattle destroyed, the *Turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and less fit for burning; the Air made unwholsome by stagnating Pools and

Marshes; and the very Sight of such Places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious Custom be allowed, of cutting *Scraws*, (as they call them) which is flaying off the green Surface of the Ground, to cover their Cabbins; or make up their Ditches; sometimes in shallow Soils, where all is Gravel within a few Inches; and sometimes in low Ground, with a thin Green-Sword, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into Bog, by this Mismanagement. And, I have heard from very skilful Country-men, that by these two Practices in *Turf* and *Scraws*, the Kingdom loseth some Hundreds of Acres of profitable Land every Year; besides the irreparable Loss of many Skirts of Boggs, which have a green Coat of Grass, and yet are mangled for *Turf*; and, besides the Want of Canals, by regular Cutting, which would not only be a great Convenience for bringing their *Turf* home at an easy Rate; but likewise render even the larger Boggs more dry and safe, for Summer Pasture.

THESE, and some other Speculations of the like Kind, I had intended to publish in a particular Discourse against this Session of Parliament; because, in some Periods of my Life, I had Opportunity and Curiosity to observe, from what Causes those great Errors, in every Branch of Country Management, have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few, out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving Offence; which I have endeavoured, by all possible Means, to avoid. And, for the same Reason, I chose to add here, the little I thought proper to say on this Subject.

BUT, as to the Lands of those who are *perpetual Absentees*, I do not see any Probability of their being ever improved. In former Times, their Tenants sat at easy Rents; but for some Years past, they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the Dexterity of *merciless Agents* from *England*, than even those held under the severest Landlords here. I was assured upon the Place, by great Numbers of credible People, that a prodigious Estate in the County of *Cork*, being let upon Leases for Lives, and great Fines paid; the Rent was so high, that the Tenants begged Leave to surrender their *Leases*, and were content to lose their *Fines*.

THE cultivating and Improvement of Land, is certainly a

Subject worthy of the highest Enquiry in any Country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every Branch of Trade, that can be of Advantage to us; and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest Importance; whereof I defy the most learned Man in *Europe*, to produce me an Example from any other Kingdom in the World: For, we are denied the *Benefits* which *God* and *Nature* intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy Situation for Commerce*, and the *great Number of our excellent Ports*. So that, I think, little is left us, beside the cultivating our own Soil, encouraging *Agriculture*, and making great Plantations of Trees, that we might not be under the Necessity of sending for *Corn* and *Bark* from *England*, and *Timber* from other Countries. This would increase the Number of our Inhabitants, and help to consume our natural Products, as well as Manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great Man in *England*; That few *Politicians*, with all their Schemes, are half so useful Members of a Commonwealth, as an *honest Farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring and planting, hath increased the intrinsick Value of a Piece of Land; and thereby done a *perpetual Service* to his Country; which it is a great Controversy, whether any of the *former* ever did, since the Creation of the World; but no Controversy at all, that Ninety-nine in a Hundred, have done Abundance of Mischief.

A full and true

ACCOUNT

of the solemn

Procession to the Gallows, *at the Execution of*

William Wood,

Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.

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Procession to the Gallows, *at the Execution of*

William Wood,

Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.

Written in the Year 1724.

SOME Time ago, upon a Report spread, that *William Wood*, Hard-Ware-Man, was concealed in his Brother-in-law's House here in *Dublin*; a great Number of People of different Conditions, and of both Sexes, crowded about the Door, determinately bent to take Revenge upon him as a Coiner and Counterfeiter. Among the Rest, a certain curious Person, standing in a Corner, observed that they all discovered their Resentments in the proper Terms and Expressions of their several Trades and Callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me; with Leave to publish them, for the Use of those who at any Time hereafter may be at a Loss for proper Words, wherein to express their good Dispositions towards the said *William Wood*.

The People cried out to have him delivered into their Hands.

Says the P---l---t Man, *Expell* him the *House*.

2d. P---l---t Man, I second that *Motion*.

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2d. *Cook*. I'll give him his *Belly-full*.

3d. *Cook*. I'll give him a *Lick* in the *Chops*.

4th. *Cook*. I'll *Sowce* him.

Drunken man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.

* *At the Time when the Coinage of Half-pence by* William Wood *made most Noise, several Papers of Humour and Ridicule ran about the Town and Kingdom, to expose that pernicious Project; among others, that which follows; and is supposed to be written by the Author of the* Drapier's *Letters: We have, therefore, ventured to reprint it in its proper Place.*

Bookseller. I'll turn over a *New Leaf* with him.
Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *Light* shine through him.
Grocer. I'll *Pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *Curry* his Hide.
'*Pothecary*. I'll *Pound* him.
2d '*Pothecary*. I'll beat him to *Mummy*.
School-master. I'll make him an *Example*.
Rabbet Catcher. I'll *Ferret* him.
Paver. I'll *Thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *Rap*.
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll dash out his *Grinders*.
2d. *Miller*. *Dam* him.
Boat-man. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *Kennel*.
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnio-man. I'll make the *House* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d. *Whore*. Let me *alone* with him.
3d. *Whore*. *Clap* him up.
Mustard-Maker. I'll have him by the *Nose*.
Curate. I'll make the *Devil come out of him*.
Popish Priest. I'll *send him* to the Devil.
Dancing-Master. I'll *teach* him *better Manners*.
2d. *Dancing-Master*. I'll make him cut a *Caper* three Story high.
Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.
Taylor. I'll sit in his *Skirts*.
2d. *Taylor*. *Hell* is too good for him.
3d. *Taylor*. I'll *pink* his *Doublet*.
4th. *Taylor*. I'll make his A--- make *Buttons*.
Basket-Maker. I'll *hamper* him.
Fidler. I'll have him by the *Ears*.
2d. *Fidler*. I'll bang him to some *Tune*.
Barber. I'll have him by the *Beard*.
2d. *Barber*. I'll pull his *Whiskers*.
3d. *Barber*. I'll make his *Hair* stand an End.

4th. *Barber*. I'll *comb* his *Locks*.
Tinker. I'll try what *Metal* he's made of.
Cobler. I'll make an *End* of him.
Tobacconist. I'll make him *Smoak*.
2d. *Tobacconist*. I'll make him set up his *Pipes*.
Gold-finder. I'll make him *Stink*.
Hackney-Coachman. I'll make him know his *Driver*.
2d. *Hackney-Coachman*. I'll *drive* him to the Devil.
Butcher. I'll have a *Limb* of him.
2d. *Butcher*. Let us *blow him up*.
3d. *Butcher*. My *Knife* in him.
Nurse. I'll *Swaddle* him.
Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the Rogue in the *Pond*.
Ostler. I'll *rub* him *down*.
Shoemaker. Set him in the *Stocks*.
Banker. I'll kick him to *Half-Crowns*.
2d. *Banker*. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *Rubber* with him.
Gamester. I'll make his *Bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his Sides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his Plants*.
Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *Horns*.
Old-Woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

BUT, at last, the People having received Assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the House nor Kingdom, appointed certain Commissioners to hang him in Effigie; whereof the whole Ceremony and Procession, deserve to be transmitted to Posterity.

FIRST, the Way was cleared by a Detachment of the *Black-Guards*; with short Sticks in their Hands, and Cockades of Paper in their Hats.

THEN appeared *William Wood*, Esq; represented to the Life by an old Piece of carved Timber, taken from the Keel of a Ship. Upon his Face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper Distances, several Pieces of his own Coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his Calling, and his Crime. He wore on his

Head a Peruke very artfully composed of Four old Mops; a Halter about his Neck served him for a Cravat. His Cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with Persons in his Condition; which some censorious People imputed to Affectation; for he was covered with a large Rugg of several Colours in Patch-Work; he was born upon the Shoulders of an able-bodied Porter. In his March by St. *Stephen's-Green*, he often bowed on both Sides, to shew his Respects to the Company; his Deportment was grave, and his Countenance though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

BEHIND him followed his Father alone, in a long mourning Cloak, with his Hat over his Nose, and a Handkerchief in his left Hand to wipe the Tears from his Face.

NEXT in Order marched the Executioner *himself in Person*; whose venerable Aspect drew the Eyes of the whole Assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a Halter which he bore upon his left Shoulder as the Badge of his Office.

THEN followed two Persons Hand in Hand; the one representing *William Wood*'s * Brother-in-law; the other a certain Sadler, his intimate Friend, whose Name I forget. Each had a small Kettle in his Hands, wherein was a reasonable Quantity of the new Half-pence. At proper Periods they shook their Kettles, which made a melancholly Sound, like the Ringing of a Knell for their Partner and Confederate.

AFTER these followed several Officers, whose Assistance was necessary for the more decent Performance of the great Work in Hand.

THE Procession was closed with an innumerable Crowd of People, who frequently sent out loud Huzza's; which were censured by wiser Heads as a Mark of Inhumanity, and an ungenerous Triumph over the Unfortunate; without duly considering the various Vicissitudes of human Life. However, as it becomes an impartial Historian, I will not conceal one Observation, That Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least Alteration in his Countenance; only when he came within Sight of the fatal Tree, which happened to be of the same Species of

* *One* Molyneux *an Ironmonger.*

Timber with his own Person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

AT the Place of Execution, he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a Tear. He made no Resistance, but submitted himself, with great Resignation, to the Hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much Roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him Pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in Letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

THOSE of the softer Sex who attended the Ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-*timbered* a Man, should come to so untimely an End. He hung but a short Time; for upon feeling his Breast, they found it cold and stiff.

IT is strange to think how this melancholly Spectacle turned the Hearts of the People to Compassion: When he was cut down, the Body was carried through the whole City to gather Contributions for his Wake; and all Sorts of People shewed their Liberality according as they were able. The Ceremony was performed in an Ale-house of Distinction, and in a Manner suitable to the Quality of the Deceased. While the Attendants were discoursing about his Funeral, a worthy Member of the Assembly stood up, and proposed, that the Body should be carried out next Day, and burned with the same Pomp and Formalities used at his Execution; which would prevent the Malice of his Enemies, and all Indignities that might be done to his Remains. This was agreed to; and about Nine a Clock on the following Morning there appeared a Second Procession. But, Burning not having been any Part of the Sentence; Authority thought fit to interpose, and the Corps was rescued by the Civil Power.

WE hear the Body is not yet interred; which occasions many Speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively assured by many who pretend to have been Eye-witnesses; that there does not appear the least Alteration in any one Lineament or Feature of his Countenance, nor visible Decay in his whole Frame, further than what had been made by Worms long before his Execution. The Solution of which Difficulty, I shall leave among Naturalists.

APPENDIX A

ARTICLES ATTRIBUTED TO SWIFT

1. *From* HARDING'S *Dublin News Letter*, April 21, 1724

(In) the Paper call'd The London Post-man, (dat)ed Apr. 17. 1724 was Publish'd the (follo)wing Paragraph, Dated London, (Apri)l 11. Yesterday a Committee of Council (sa)t at the Cock-pit and had under Con(sid)eration the Representations made to (Hi)s Majesty by the Parliament of Ireland, (aga)inst the Patent granted to *Mr. Woods* (for) Coining Half-pence and Farthings for (th)at Kingdom, but no Evidence (appe)ar'd to prove the Mischiefs complain'd (of); *Mr. Woods* the Patentee, was heard (in) his own Defence, and Orders are given (for) an Essay to be made of its Fineness, (Va)lue and Weight, compar'd with the (for)mer Coinage of Ireland.

We hope the Kingdom will observe (that) the Impudence of this same Woods is (eq)ual in its Kind to the Perniciousness (of this) Project. Here he gives us a Scene (in the) Committee of the English Council putting the Unanimous Representation of the (Parli)ament of *Ireland* into one Ballance, (and) his Half-pence into another. By this (*Wood's*) *Law* and *Logick*, when a whole (King)dom (and as Loyal a Kingdom as ever (Prin)ce possess'd) represents a Grievance to (its) Sovereign, by which they must in(evita)bly be ruined if it be not prevented, (their) Word must not be taken, they must (brin)g *Evidence* to prove the *Fact*, they (ough)t before their Prorogation to have (told) their Lawyers, and prepared their (busi)ness to stand the Suit with that *Ho(nest) Upwright Hard-Ware-man* Mr. (Wo)ods. And what is the Result? (Orde)rs are given for an Essay to be made (of th)e Fineness, Value and Weight of (the) Half-pence: For what End? To (comp)are it with former Coynage in *Ireland*. (So th)at if upon any great Emergency in (rec)ent Times when *Silver* and *Gold* were (rar)e, under the Pressure of War or any (other) Difficulties, base Coyn hath been (utter)'d, this Man would insinuate that (Pre)cedent will be allow'd in Times of (Peace) and Plenty and under so happy an Administration of ours, and so his *Business* and *Ours* be *Done*. But God be thanked, we live under a Gracious King; the Patent does not pretend to oblige us to take this Coyn,

and the Pamphlet lately Publish'd, Entituled, *A Letter to the Shop-Keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers*, &c. upon this Subject, shews: *That by the Law no Man is bound in Payment to take any Money but Gold and Silver*; so that unless we Contribute to our own Destruction, *Mr. Wood's* Trash may lye upon his own Hands.

But after all, is it possible without some Indignation to conceive a whole Kingdom kept in a Fright for so many Months by one *Obscure, Inconsiderable, Insignificant, Ill-designing Mechanick?*

2. *Another* LETTER *to* Mr. HARDING the Printer

Upon Occasion of the REPORT of the Committee of the LORDS of His MAJESTY'S most Honourable Privy-Council, In Relation to Mr. *WOOD'S* Half Pence and Farthings, *&c.* lately Publish'd.

Mr. HARDING,

ALTHO' this LETTER also is directed to you, yet you know that it is intended for the Benefit of the Whole Kingdom, and therefore I pray make it Publick, and take Care to disperse it.

THE Design of it is only to desire all People to take Notice, That whatever Apprehensions some Persons seem to be under on Account of the above-mentioned REPORT concerning Mr. WOOD's Half-Pence and Farthings, yet the utmost Advice which the Right Honourable *COMMITTEE* have thought fit to give his *MAJESTY*, is, That a certain Sum of the said Half-Pence and Farthings may be *Received as Current Money by such as shall be WILLING to receive the same.* And if we are *WILLING* to Ruin Our Selves and Our Country, I think we are not to be Pityed. UPON this Occasion I would only tell my Country Men a Short Story.

A certain KING of *Great Britain* who spoke broad *Scotch*, and being himself a Man of Wit, loved both to hear and speak Things that were Humourous, had once a Petition preferred to him, in which the *Petitioner*, having set forth his own Merits, most humbly prayed his Majesty to Grant him *Letters Patents* for receiving a Shilling from every one of his Subjects who should be *WILLING* to give so much to him. *In gude Troth*, said the King, *a very reasonable Petition. Let every Man give thee Twa Shillings gin he be WILLING so to do, and thou shalt have full Liberty to receive it.* But, says the Petitioner, I desire that this Clause may be inserted in my PATENT, That every Man who refuses to give

me a shilling, should appear at *Westminster Hall* to shew Cause why he so refuses. *This also*, says the King, *shall be Granted thee, but always with this Proviso, that the Man be WILLING to come.*

I am your, *&c.*

Misoxulos.

3. Two Letters *to the* CHIEF JUSTICE WHITSHED

A LETTER from a Friend To the Right Honourable ———

CETERI, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur: invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur. *Tacit. Ann.*

To the Right Honourable——

I FEAR your Lordship in your wonted Zeal for the Interest of your Country will think this Paper VERY UNSEASONABLE; but I am very confident not more than one Man of this Kingdom will be of your Lordship's Judgment.

IN Matters of Law your Opinion has from our first Acquaintance entirely Guided me, and the things you have assured me I might depend upon as Law, have few of them escap'd my Memory, tho' I have had but little Conversation with you since you first appear'd in Parliament and mov'd the House to Resolve, That it is the indispensible Duty of the Judges of this Kingdom to go thro' their Circuits; nor have I had any since you fell Sick and was made Sollicitor General.

I HAVE often heard your Lordship affirm, and therefore I do affirm it, That the great Ends for which *Grand-juries* were instituted, were the Support of the Government, the Safety of every Man's Life and Fortune, it being necessary some shou'd be trusted to inquire after all Disturbers of the Peace, that they might be prosecuted and brought to Condign Punishment; and it is no less needful for every Man's Quiet and Safety, that the Trust of such Inquisitions shou'd be put into the Hands of Persons of Understanding, and Integrity, that will suffer no Man to be falsly Accused or Defamed; nor the Lives of any to be put in Jeopardy, by the Malicious Conspiracies of *Great* or *Small*, or the Perjuries of any *Profligate Wretches*.

SO material a Part of our Constitution are *Grand-juries*, so

much does the Security of every Subject depend upon them, that tho' anciently the *Sheriff* was by express Law, chosen annually by the People of the County, and trusted with the Power of the County, yet the Law left not the Election of *Grand-Juries* to the Will of the Sheriff, but has described their Qualifications, which if they have, and the *Sheriff* return them, no Man, nay no *Judge*, can object to their being Sworn, much less may they to their serving when Sworn: And to prevent the discretionary Power (a new fashion'd Term) of these Judges over Juries, you used to say was made the Statute of the 11th of *Hen.* 4.

PARDON me my Lord if I venture to affirm, That a Dissolving Power is a Breach of that Law, or at least an Evasion, as every Citizen in *Dublin* in Sir *Constantine Phip*[*ps*'] Time perfectly understood, that disapproving the Aldermen Lawfully return'd to the Privy Council was in effect assuming the Power of Choosing and Returning —— But your Lordship and I know *Dissolving* and *Disapproving* are different TERMS.

I ALWAYS understood from your Lordship the Trust and Power [of] *Grand-juries* is or ought to be accounted amongst the Greatest and of most Concern, next to the *Legislative*: The Honour, Reputations, Fortunes and Lives of every Man being Subject to their Censure; the Kings of *England* have an undoubted Power of Dissolving Parliaments, but Dissolving 'till one was return'd to their or their Ministers liking, has never been thought very *Righteous*, and Heaven be praised never very *successful*.

I AM entirely of your Lordship's Opinion, the Oath of a *Grand-jury man* is not always sufficiently considered by the *Jurors*, which is as follows.

You shall diligently Enquire, and true Presentment make of all such Articles, Matters and Things as shall be given you in Charge: And of all other Matters and Things as shall come to your own Knowledge, touching this present Service. The King's COUNSEL YOUR FELLOWS AND YOUR OWN YOU SHALL KEEP SECRET, &c.—— And from some other Men's Behaviour, I fear *Oaths* are not always as *Sacredly observed* as they ought to be: The Kings Counsel, your Fellows and your OWN you shall keep Secret——Tho' our Grand-mothers my Lord might have thought there was a Dispensing Power in the *Pope*, you and I profess no Power upon

Earth can dispence with this *Oath*; so that to force a Man to discover the Counsel he is Sworn to keep, is to force him into direct PERJURY.

SUPPOSE upon Information taken before your Lordship of a Rape committed, a Bill of Indictment were sent to a *Grand-jury*, and the *Grand jury* return *Ignoramus* on it, Application is made to the Court to recommend it to them to reconsider it, and they return as before *Ignoramus*—Suppose a Judge with more than decent Passion shou'd ask them their Reasons (which is their Counsel) for so doing, nay shou'd be so particular as to demand of them whether they thought the Woman a Whore. Must not all the World conclude Some-body had forgot the *Oath* of a *Grand-juryman*? Yes sure, or his own, or WORSE.—But suppose they shou'd ask a *Juror* a Question might Criminate himself? My Lord, you know I put not bare Possibilities, it is Generally believ'd these Things have been done within an Oak of this Town —And if I am rightly inform'd, the Restraint a *Juror* is under by his *Oath*, is so well understood, that a certain Person desired the Clerk of the Crown to change the Form of it by adding this Exception: UNLESS BY LEAVE OR ORDER OF THE COURT.

THESE Things, my Lord, would seem strange in *Westminster-Hall*, and wou'd be severely noted in St. *Stephen's* Chapel. The Honour of the Crown wou'd be thought a very false as well as weak Plea for such Proceedings there, as indeed it is an infamous one every where, for 'tis a Scandal upon a King, if he is represented in a Court of Justice, as if he were partially concern'd or rather inclined to desire, that a Party shou'd be found *Guilty*, than that he shou'd be declared *Innocent*.

THE King's Interest and Honour is more concern'd in the Protection of the *Innocent*, than in the Punishment of the *Guilty*, as in all the immediate Actions of his Majesty we find that Maxim pursued, a Maxim can never run a Prince into Excesses. We do not only find those Princes represented in History under Odious Characters, who have basely betray'd the *Innocent*, but such as by their Spys and Informers were too inquisitive after the *Guilty*, whereas none was ever blamed for Clemency, or for being too gentle Interpreters of the Law. Tho' *Trajan* was an Excellent Prince, endow'd with all Heroical Virtues; yet the most eloquent

Writers, and HIS BEST FRIENDS, found nothing more to be praised in his Government, than that in his Time, all Men might think what they pleas'd, and every Man speak what he thought, this I say, that if any amongst us by Violent Measures, and a Dictatorial Behaviour have raised Jealousies in the Minds of his M——y's faithful Subjects, the Blame may lye at their Door.

I KNOW it has been said for his M——y's Service, *Grand-juries* may be forced to discover their Counsels: But you will confess a King can do nothing against Law, nor will any honest Man Judge that for his Service, which is not warranted by Law: If a constant uninterrupted Usage, can give the Force of a Law, then the *Grand-jury-men* are bound by *Law*, as well as by their *Oaths*, to keep the King's, their Fellows and their own Counsel Secret. *Bracton* and *Britton* in their several Generations bear Witness, That it was then practised; and greater Proof of it needs not be sought, than the Disputes that appear by the Law Books to have been amongst the antient Lawyers, WHETHER IT WAS TREASON OR FELONY FOR A GRAND-JURYMAN TO DISCOVER THEIR COUNSELS—The Trust of *Grand-juries* was in those Days thought so *sacred*, and their Secrecy of so great Concern to the Kingdom, that whosoever shou'd break their *Oaths*, was by all thought worthy to die, only some wou'd have them suffer as *Traitors*, others as *Felons*.

IF a King's Commands shou'd come to the Judges of a Court of *Justice* or to a *Jury*, desiring them to vary from the Direction of the *Law*, (which it is Criminal to say, and no Man ought to be believ'd therein) they are bound by their *Oaths* not to regard them: The Statute of 2 of *E.* 3. 8. and 20 *E.* 3. 1. are express; and the Substance of these and other Statutes is inferred into the *Oaths* taken by every *Judge*; and if they be under the most *Solemn* and *Sacred* Tye in the Execution of *Justice* to hold for nothing the Commands of the King under the great Seal, then surely Political Views and Schemes, the Pleasure or Displeasure of a Minister, in the like Case ought to be less than nothing.

IT is a strange Doctrine that Men must Sacrifice the Law to secure their Properties, If the Law is to be fashion'd for every Occasion, if *Grand-jury men* contrary to their *Oaths* must discover their *Fellows* and their own *Counsels*, and betray the Trust

the *Law* has reposed in them, if they must Subject the Reasons of their *Verdicts* to the Censure of the *Judges*, whom the *Law* did never design to trust with the *Liberty*, *Property*, or *Good-Name* of their Fellow Subjects. No Man can say he has any Security for his *Life* or *Fortune*, and they who do not themselves, may however see their best Friends and nearest Relations suffer the utmost *Violences* and *Oppressions*.

WHICH leads me to say a few Words of the *Petit-jury*, not forgetting Mr. *Walters*, I am assured by an Eminent Lawyer, that the Power and Office of a *Petit-jury* is Judicial, that they only are the Judges from whose *Sentence* the Indicted are to expect Life or Death. Upon their Integrity and Understanding the Lives of all that are brought in Judgment do ultimately depend; from their *Verdict* there lyes no appeal, by finding *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*. They do complicately resolve both *Law* and *Fact*. As it hath been the Law, so it hath always been the Custom and Practice of these *Juries* (except as before) upon all general Issues, pleaded in Cases Civil as well as Criminal, to Judge both of the *Law* and *Fact*. So it is said in the Report of the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* in BUSHELL's Case, That these *Juries* determine the Law in all Matters where Issue is Joyn'd and Try'd, in the Principal Case whether the Issue be about *Trespass* or *Debt*, or *Disseizin* in Assizes, or a *Tort* or any such like, unless they should please to give a *Special Verdict* with an *Implicate Faith* in the Judgment of the Court, to which none can oblige them against their WILLS.

IT is certain we may hope to see the Trust of a *Grand-jury man* best discharged when Gentlemen of the best Fortunes and Understandings attend that Service, but it is as certain we must never expect to see such Men on *Juries*, if for differing with a Judge in Opinion, when they only are the Lawful Judges, they are liable to be treated like *Villains*, like *Perjurors*, and *Enemies* to their King and Country; I say my Lord such Behaviour to *Juries* will make all Gentlemen avoid that Duty, and instead of Men of *Interest*, of *Reputation* and *Abilities*, our *Lives*, our *Fortunes*, and our *Reputations* must depend upon the *Basest* and *Meanest* of the People.

I KNOW it is commonly said, *Boni Judicis est ampliare Juridic-*

tionem. But I take that to be better Advice which was given by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* upon Swearing a Judge; That he would take care to contain the Jurisdiction of the Court within the Ancient MERE-STONES without removing the Mark.

I INTEND to pay my Respects to your Lordship once every Month 'till the Meeting of the Parliament, when our Betters may consider of these Matters, and therefore will not trouble you with any more on this Subject at present. But Conclude, most heartily Praying——

THAT from depending upon the WILL of a Judge, who may be Corrupted or Sway'd by his own Passions, Interests, or the impulse of Such as Support him and may advance him to Greater Honours, the GOD of Mercy and of Justice deliver this Nation.

Dec. the First 1724.

I am, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most O-
bedient Humble Servant.
N. N.

A SECOND LETTER From A Friend To the Right Honourable — — —

UBI semel recto deerratum est in præceps pervenitur—a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia. *Vell. Pater.*

SELF-LOVE, is the Love of one's Self, and of every thing else for one's own Sake: It makes a Man the Idolater of himself, and the Tyrant of others. *Rochfaucault.*

My LORD,

I THINK the best Service Men employ'd by his Majesty can do for him and this Country, is to shew such Prudence and Temper in their Behaviours as may convince every Man they are not intrusted with any Power but what is necessary and will always be exercised for the *Advantage* and *Security* of his Majesties Subjects.

FOR my own part I hold it the Duty of every Man tho' he has not the Honour of serving his Majesty in publick Employment, not only, not to misrepresent the Actions of his Servants, but in Matters of small Concern, to wink at their Follies and Mistakes; I know the *Jacobites* and *Papists* our irreconcileable Enemies are too watchful to lay hold of every Occasion to misrepresent his M——y and turn the Faults of ambitious and self interested Servants upon the *Best of Kings.*

I HEAR some Men say, that in my last to your Lordship, there appears more of the Satyrist, than becomes a Man engaged merely in the Defence of Liberty and Justice; But I am satisfy'd I can with Charity affirm, they are either such as have no Knowledge of the several Steps have been taken to bring this poor Country into *Ruin* and *Disgrace*, or they are of the Number of those who have had a Share in the Actings and *Contrivances* against it; for my Lord, he must rather be an insensible Stoick than an angry Cynick, who can survey the Measures of some Men without *Horour* and *Indignation*—To see Men act as if they had never taken an Oath of Fidelity to their King, whose Interest is inseparable from that of his People, but had sworn to support the *Ruinous Projects* of abandon'd Men (of whatever Faction) must rouse the most Lethargick if *Honest* Soul.

I WHO have always profess'd my self a *Whig* do confess it has mine.

I BEG leave in this Place to explain what I intended in my last by the Words, *Unless by Leave or Order of the Court*, least whilst I plead for Justice I should do an Injury to your Lordship.

I DO declare I never heard that Story of your Lordship, and I hope no Man did believe it of you. My Intention was by that Hint to remember you of Judge U—p—n and a certain *Assizes* held at *Wicklow*, as I believe your Lordship understood it, and as I now desire all the World may.

HAVING learn'd from your Lordship and other Lawyers of *undoubted Abilities*, that no Judge ought by Threats or Circumvention to make a Grand-Jury-Man discover the King's Counsel his Fellows or his own I shou'd not at present say any thing in support of that Position. But that I find a most *ridiculous* and *false Explanation* seem to mislead some Men in that Point: Say they, by the Word Counsel is understood, such Bills as are before the Grand Jury and the Evidence the Prosecutors for the Crown have to support the Charge against the Subject——Least that being known the Party indictable may fly from Justice, or he may procure false Witnesses to discredit the Evidence for the King, or he may by Bribes and other indirect Measures take off the Witnesses for the Crown.

I CONFESS *I* take that to be the meaning of the Word Counsel, but I am certain that is not *All* that is meant by it, that is what must be understood when it is call'd the *King's Counsel*, *id est*, the Counsel or Reasons for which the King by his Servants, his Attorney General or Coronor, has drawn and sent to the Grand Jury a Charge against a Subject.

BUT the Counsel of a Juror is a Different Thing, it is the *Evidence*, the *Motives* and *Reasons* that induce him or his Fellow Jurors to say *Billa vera* or *Ignoramus*, and the *Opinion* he or they happen to be of when the Question is put by the Foreman for finding or not finding: This Counsel every Man is sworn to keep Secret, that so their Opinion and Advice may not be of *Prejudice* to them hereafter, That as they are sworn to act without *Favour* or *Affection*, so may they also act without FEAR. Whereas, were it otherwise the Spirit of Revenge is so Universal, there are but

few Cases wherein a Juror cou'd act with Safety to himself; either the Prosecuted, as where the Bill is found, or the Prosecutor, where it is return'd *Ignoramus*, may contrive to defame the Jurors who differ from them in Opinion: As I am told has happen'd to some very honest Citizens who are Represented to be *Jacobites* since their Opinions were known to be against—— And sometimes Revenge or *Ambition* may prompt Men to carry it further, as in the Case of Mr. *Wilmer*, who in King *Charles* 2d's Time was very severely handled for being one of an *Ignoramus* Jury.—'Tis not necessary to say whom he disoblig'd by being so.—But if I remember right his Case was this.

He was a Merchant, (and as I said, *an Ignoramus Jury-man*) had covenanted with a Servant Boy to serve him in the *West Indies*, and accordingly sent him beyond Sea: Upon Suggestion and Affidavit by which any Person might have it, a Writ *de Homine Replegiando* was granted against Mr. *Wilmer*; the Sheriffs wou'd have return'd on the Writ the Agreement and the Boy's Consent, but the Court (in the Case of *this Wilmer*) *Easter* 34. *Cha.* 2, in *B.R.* ruled they must return *Replegiari fecimus* or *Elongavit*, that is, they had replevy'd the Boy, or that *Wilmer* had carried him away where they cou'd not find him, in which last Case Mr. *Wilmer*, *tho' an Innocent Person* must have gone to *Gaol* until he brought the Boy into Court or he must have been *Out Law'd* ——*Shower*'s Rep. 2 Part.

I do not say this that I think the same thing will be practic'd again, or any thing like it, tho' I know that very homely Proverb, *more Ways of killing a Dog than hanging him*.—But I instance it to shew, the Counsels of every Grand jury-man shou'd be kept *Secret*, that he may act *freely* and without *Apprehensions* of *Resentment* from the *Prosecuted* or *Prosecutor*.

My Resolution when I writ to you last, was, not to have said any thing in this concerning the *Power of Dissolving* or *Dispensing*, but as I have been forc'd to say something of the *Dispensing*, for the same Reason I must of the *Dissolving Power*.—A Power undoubtedly in Effect including that of *Returning*, which makes me wish two Men of great Interest in this Kingdom, *differing in every other thing*, had not undertaken to defend it, or they had better Reasons for it than I have yet heard.

'Tis said, *This Power is in the Court as a Right of Resistance is in the People, as the People have a Power Superior to the Prerogative of the Prince, tho' no Written or Express Law for it; so of Necessity tho' no Statute directs it, and it may seem to overturn the greatest Security Men have for their Liberties, yet the Court has a Power of Dissolving Grand-Juries, if they refuse to find or present as the Court shall direct.*

Pray let us consider how well this concludes:

The *People* may do any thing in *Defence* of their *Lives*, their *Religion* and *Liberties*, and consequently Resistance is Lawful, therefore an *Inferiour Court* a *Bene placito Judge* may —— Monstrous Absurdity.

Another, I am Sorry I can't say more modest Argument to Support it is this.——

Considering say they Grand Juries, it is but reasonable a Discretionary Power of Dissolving them shou'd be lodg'd in the Judges.

By the Words *Considering Grand-Juries*, I must understand *Considering* their *Understandings*, their *Fortunes* or their *Integrity*, for from a *Want* of one or more of those Qualifications must arise the *Reason* of such a *Discretionary Power* in the Judges.

Tho' I shall not urge it *as far as I cou'd*, I will venture to say the Argument is *at least as strong* the other way—*Considering the Judges.*—

First as to their *Understandings*, it must be confessd the Benches are infinitely *Superiour* to the Lower Professors of the Law: Yet surely it can't give Offence to say the Gentlemen of the several Counties have Understandings Sufficient to discharge the Duty of Grand jury-men——If *want of Fortune* be an Objection to Grand-jury-men, *a pari Ratione*, it is an Objection to *some other Men.* Besides, that the Fact is not true, for in their Circuits, *no Judge* goes into any County where he does not meet *at least* a Dozen Gentlemen return'd upon *every Grand Jury*, *every one of whom* have better Estates than he himself has——And these not during Pleasure, which last Consideration, saves me the Trouble of shewing the Weakness of the *Objection* in the *Third Qualification.*

Ay. *But it was a necessary Expedient to keep out* Wood's Brass.

Are the *Properties* of the Commons of this Kingdom better secur'd by the *Knight Errantry* of that Day? In the Name of

Common Sense, what are we to believe? *Has* the *Undaunted Spirit*, the *Tremendous Voice* of —— fright'ned *Wood* and his Accomplices from any *further Attempts?* Or rather has not the *ready Compliance of* —— encouraged them to further Tryals? The *Officers* and *Attendants* of his Court may tremble when he *Frowns*, but who else regards it more than they do one of *Wood*'s *Farthings*.

There is no Comparison, says another, *between the Affair of Sir* W. Scroggs *and this of* ——. *Sir* W. *Discharged a Grand-Jury because they were about to present the Duke of* York *for being a* Papist, but ——— *Discharg'd the Grand-Jury for not presenting a Paper he recommended to them to present as Scandalous*, (*and in which, I say, he was a Party reflected on.*)

I AGREE there is a mighty Difference, but whom does it make for?

A GRAND Jury of a Hundred (*Part of a County*) take upon them to Present a no less considerable Person than the *King's Brother* and HEIR PRESUMPTIVE OF THE CROWN, the Chief Justice thinks this a Matter of too much Moment for Men of such Sort to meddle in, but a Matter more proper for the Consideration of Parliament: I wou'd not be understood to condemn the Jury; I think they acted as became Honest English Men and Lovers of their Country; But I say if Judges cou'd in any Case be allow'd to proceed by *Rules of Policy*, surely here was a sufficient Excuse. However the Commons impeach'd him.

THE Determinations of Ignorant or Wicked Judges, as they are Precedents of *little Weight*, so they are but of *little Danger*, and therefore it will become the Commons *at all Times* to Animadvert *most carefully* upon the Actions of the *most knowing Men* in that Profession.

I SAY, my Lord, at *all Times*, because I hear former Merit is pleaded to *Skreen* this Action from any Inquiry.

I AM sensible much is due to the Man who has always preferr'd the Publick Interest to his private Advantages as —— has done. When a Man has signaliz'd himself, when he has suffer'd for that Principle, he deserves universal Respect. Yet Men shou'd act agreeably to the *Motive* of that Respect, and not ruin the Liberty of their Country to shew their Gratitude, and so, my

Lord, where a Man has the *least* Pretence to that Character, I think 'tis best to pass over small Offences, but never such as will intail *Danger* and *Dishonour* upon *Us* and our *Posterity*.

THE *Romans*, my Lord, when a Question was in the *Senate* whether they shou'd Ransom Fifteen thousand Citizens who had meritted much by their former Victories, but losing *One* Battle were taken Prisoners; were determin'd by the Advice of that Noble Roman *Attilius Regulus* not to redeem them as Men unworthy their further Care, tho' probably it was their Misfortunes not their Faults lost that Day.

Flagitio additis
Damnum: neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco:

He thought they were not worthy to be trusted again:——To shew them Pity, in his Mind, wou'd betray the *Romans* to perpetual Danger: *Et exemplo trahenti*

Perniciem veniens in ævum,
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes.

I HEAR some Precedents have been lately found out to justify that memorable Action; but if Precedents must controul Reason and Justice, if a Man may swear he will keep his Counsels secret, and yet by Precedents may be forced to Devulge them, I wou'd advise Gentlemen very seriously to Consider, the Danger we are in; and Examine what Precedents there are on each side of the Question, for my Part I think the Commons of *England* are not a worse Precedent than the Judges of *England*.

BESIDES it must be remembred that Precedents in some Cases will not Excuse a Judge, even where they are according to the undoubted Law of the Land, as for Instance,

SUPPOSE a Man says what is true, not knowing it to be true, tho' it be Logically a Truth as it is Distinguish'd, yet it is *Morally False*; and so, suppose a Judge give Judgment according to Law, not knowing it to be so, as if he did not know the Reason of it at that Time, but bethought himself of a *Reason* or PRECEDENT for it afterwards, tho' the Judgment be Legal and According to Precedent, yet the Pronouncing of it is Unjust; and the Judge

shall be Condemn'd in the Opinions of all Men: As happen'd to the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* a Person of Great Learning and Parts, who upon the Tryal of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; when Sir *Walter* objected to Reading or Giving in Evidence, Lord *Cobham*'s Affidavit, taken in his Absence, without producing the Lord Face to Face, the Lord being then forth coming: The Chief Justice over-ruled the Objection, and was of Opinion it shou'd be given in Evidence against Sir *Walter*, and Summing up the Evidence to the Jury the Chief Justice said, *Just then it came into his Mind why the Accuser shou'd not come Face to Face to the Prisoner, because, &c.* Now if any Judge has since found Precedents, or has since pick'd up the Opinion of Lawyers, I fear he will come within the Case I have put.

I FORESEE, if ever this Question happens to be Debated, YOU KNOW WHERE, Gentlemen will be divided, Some will be desirous to do their Country Justice and free us from all future Danger of this Kind. Others upon Motives not quite so Laudable, will strive to skreen, and with others private Friendship will prevail: But I wou'd recommend to your Friends, who really love their Country, to consider the several Circumstances concurring in your Lordship which probably may not in your Successor: Let them suppose a Person were to fill your Place from whose *Manifest Ignorance in the Law*, we may reasonably conclude, his *Only Merit* is an *Inveteracy* and *Hatred to this Country*. I say how cou'd your best Friends Excuse themselves, if in regard to your Lordship they shou'd suffer such a Precedent to be handed down to *such a Man unobserv'd* or *uncensur'd*?

Invenit etiam Æmulos Infælix nequitia—Ambitious Men have not always been deterr'd by the Unhappy Fate of their Predecessors, *Quid si floreat vigeatque*? But what Lengths will they run if Injustice and Corruption shall ride Triumphant?

HAD somebody receiv'd a Reprimand upon his Knees in a proper Place, for treating A PRINTERS JURY like Men convict of Perjury, forcing them to find a special Verdict, I dare to say he had not been quite so hardy as to have discharg'd the Grand-Jury or treated them in the Manner he did, because they had not an Implicit Faith in the Court; nor had he dar'd not to receive a Presentment made by the Second Grand-Jury against *Wood*'s

Farthings upon Pretence it was Informal, which I mention because the Worthy DRAPIER has mistaken the Fact.

SOME of your Lordship's Skreens I hear, advise you to shew great *Humility* and *Contrition* for what's past, as the only Means to appease the just Indignation all Sorts of Men have conceiv'd against you.——Were I well secur'd you will not recommend this Letter to the next Grand Jury *to be presented*, I cou'd give you more SEASONABLE ADVICE, but happen as it may I will venture to give you a Little.

FAWNING and Cajoling will have but little Effect on those who have had the Honour of your Acquaintance these Ten Years past, for *Caligula* who used to hide his Head if he heard the Thunder, wou'd Piss upon the Statues of the Gods when he thought the Danger over——A Better Expedient is this,——

TELL Men the DRAPIER is a *Tory* and a *Jacobite*.—That he writ *The Conduct of the Ally's*.—That he writ not his Letters with a Design to keep out *Wood's* Half-pence, but to bring in the *Pretender*, perswade them *if you can*, the Dispute is no longer about the Power of *Judges* over *Juries*, nor how much the Liberty of the Subject is endanger'd by Dissolving them at Pleasure, but that it is now become mere WHIG and TORY, a Dispute between his M——y's Friends and the *Jacobites*, and 'twere better to see a Thousand Grand-Juries Discharged than the *Tories* carry a Question tho' in the Right.—*Hæc Vulnera pro libertate publica excepi, hunc Occulum pro vobis impendi.* Try this Cant, pin a Cloath over your Eyes, look very dismal, and Cry, *I was turn'd out of Employment, when the* DRAPIER *was Rewarded with a* D——y. I say, my Lord, if you can once bring Matters thus to bear, I have not the least doubt you may escape without Censure.

TO your Lordship's Zeal and Industry without doubt is owing, that the *Papists* and the *Tories* have not deliver'd this Kingdom over to the *Pretender*, so *Cæsar* conquer'd *Pompey* that *Legum Auctor et Eversor*, and 'twas but just the Liberty and Laws of *Rome* shou'd afterwards depend upon his *Will* and *Pleasure*.—The DRAPIER in his Letter to Lord *Molesworth* has made a fair Offer, *Secure his Country from* Wood's *Coynage*, then Condemn all he has writ and said as False and Scandalous, when your Lord-

ship does as much I must confess it will be somewhat Difficult to Discover the IMPOSTOR.

THUS to keep my Word with your Lordship, I have much against my Inclinations writ this, which shall be my last upon the ungrateful Subject.—If I have leisure, and find a safe Opportunity of giving it to the Printer, my next shall explain what has long dup'd the True *Whigs* of this Kingdom, I mean HONESTY IN THE WORST OF TIMES.——

THO' your Lordship Objects to my Last, that what I writ was taken out of Lord *Coke*, Lord *Sommers*, Sir *Will. Jones*, or the Writings of some other Great Men, yet I will venture to End this with the Sentiments of *Philip de Comines* upon some THOROGOING-Courtiers.

If a Six-Penny Tax is to be raised, they cry by all Means it ought to be double. If the Prince is offended with any Man, they are directly for Hanging him. In other Instances, they maintain the same Character. Above all things they advise their King to make himself terrible, as they themselves are proud, Fierce, and Overbearing, in hopes to be dreaded by that Means, as if Authority and Place were their Inheritance.

I am,
My LORD,
Your Lordship's most
Obedient and most
Humble Servant.
N. N.

Jan. 4, 1724/5:

4. ADVERTISEMENT prefaced to SWIFT'S WORKS, 1735, Vol. IV.

THE ensuing Volume, which compleats the Set, contains all such Writings imputed to the Author, as relate to *Ireland* whereof the principal are called, *The Drapier's Letters*; and to these we have added two which were never printed before. They were procured from a Friend of the Author's in the original Manuscript, as we are assured, and have good Reason to believe; those who are better Judges will soon determine, whether they are genuine or no. It is the Opinion of several wise Men, that the following Letters, and the other Writings relating to our poor Country, may be very useful to Posterity, by warning them for the future to oppose the same, or the like evil Designs, however plausible they may at first appear to unthinking People; or however artfully they may be represented, (like this destructive Project of *William Wood*) by those who were to divide the Spoil with that Impostor; or lastly, by prostitute Flatterers, who are sure to find their private Account in the Ruin of the Kingdom; which Ruin would have certainly followed, if the Author, whoever he were, had not published his Letters in the most proper Juncture, and fitted to all Sorts of Readers; whereby in two or three Months he turned the whole Nation, almost to a Man, against that iniquitous Scheme.

Perhaps the Reward which the Author met with may appear extraordinary to those who may come after us; and we hope it will never be forgot. Upon the Publication of his fourth Letter, a Proclamation was issued out by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, promising 300 *l.* as a Reward to any Person who should discover the Author of that Letter: But he was then become too popular to be betrayed; and besides we are informed, it never lay in the Power of the Printer to discover him; for the Copies were always sent to the Press by some obscure Messenger, who never knew the Deliverer, but gave them in at a Window, as the Author himself observes in a Letter to *Harding* the Printer. His Amanuensis was the only Person trusted; to whom about two

Years after he bestowed an Employment of 40 *l.* a Year, as a Reward for his Fidelity.

But lest the Particulars of this pernicious Project may be forgot, we think it proper to give a short Account how it took its Rise.

About the Year 1722, under the Government of *Charles* Duke of *Grafton*, one *William Wood*, a Hard-ware Man from *London*, and a Bankrupt, by applying himself to some in Power, and alledging the great Want of Copper-Money in *Ireland*, procured by very indirect Means a Patent for coining 108,000 *l.* to pass as current Money in this Kingdom. It was soon discovered by the Author to be a vile Jobb from the Beginning to the End; and that the chief Procurers of his Patent were to be Sharers in the Profits. Those Politicians here, who outwardly favoured the Project against their Consciences, (if they had any) called every Opposition to this Patent, by the Name of *flying in the King's Face*.

This is enough for the Information of future Readers, because the Author in the Course of his Letters, gives full Satisfaction upon all Particulars necessary to be known.

APPENDIX B

Addresses Against WOOD'S PATENT

I. *Addresses of the* IRISH HOUSES of PARLIAMENT *in September* 1723

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

The HUMBLE ADDRESS of the *Knights, Citizens* and *Burgesses*, in Parliament Assembled.

Most Gracious SOVEREIGN!

IT is with the Utmost Concern, That We, Your Majesty's Most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the COMMONS of *IRELAND* in Parliament Assembled, Find our Selves Indispensibly Oblig'd, Humbly to Represent to Your Majesty our Unanimous Opinion, That the Importing and Uttering of *Copper Farthings* and *Half-Pence*, by Virtue of the Patent lately Granted to *William Wood*, Esq; under the Great Seal of *Great-Britain*, will be highly Prejudicial to Your Majesty's Revenue, Destructive of the Trade and Commerce of this Nation, and of the most Dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject.

WE are fully Convinced from the Tender Regard Your Majesty has always Express'd for Our Welfare and Prosperity, That this Patent could not have been Obtain'd, had not *William Wood* and his Accomplices greatly Misrepresented the State of this Nation to Your Majesty, it having appeared to Us by Examinations taken in the most Solemn Manner, That, tho' the Terms thereof had been strictly Comply'd with, there would have been a Loss to this Nation of at least 150 *per Cent.* by Means of the said Coinage, and a much Greater in the Manner the said *Half-Pence* have been Coined.

WE likewise beg Leave to inform Your Majesty, That the said *William Wood* has been Guilty of a most Notorious Fraud and Deceit in Coining the said *Half-Pence*, having under Colour of the Powers Granted unto him, Imported and Endeavour'd to Utter great Quantities of Different Impressions, and of much Less Weight than was requir'd by the said Patent.

YOUR Faithful COMMONS having found by Experience,

That the Granting the Power or Privilege of Coining *Money*, or *Tokens* to Pass for *Money*, to Private Persons has been highly Detrimental to Your Loyal Subjects, and being Apprehensive That the Vesting such Power in any Body Politick or Corporate, or any Private Person or Persons whatsoever, will be always of Dangerous Consequence to this Kingdom, are Encouraged by the Repeated Assurances Your Majesty hath given Us of Your Royal Favour and Protection, Humbly to Entreat Your Majesty, That whenever You shall hereafter think it Necessary to Coin any *Farthings* or *Half-Pence*, the same may be made as near the Intrinsick Value as possible, and that whatever Profit shall accrue thereby, may be apply'd to the Publick Service.

And We do further Humbly beseech Your Majesty, That You will be Graciously Pleased to give such Directions, as You in Your Great Wisdom shall think Proper, to Prevent the Fatal Effects of Uttering any *Farthings* or *Half-Pence* Pursuant to the said Patent.

As this Enquiry has proceeded Entirely from Our Love to Our Country, So We cannot omit this Opportunity of Repeating our Unanimous Resolution, to Stand by and Support Your Majesty to the Utmost of our Power, against all Your Enemies both at Home and Abroad; and of Assuring Your Majesty, That We will upon every Occasion give Your Majesty and the World, all possible Demonstration of Our Zeal and Inviolable Duty and Affection to Your Majesty's most Sacred Person and Government, and to the Succession, as Establish'd in Your Royal House.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

The Humble ADDRESS of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal *in PARLIAMENT* Assembled

May it please Your Most Sacred Majesty,

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, are under the Utmost Concern to find That Our DUTY to Your MAJESTY and Our COUNTRY indispensably Calls upon Us to Acquaint Your MAJESTY with the ill Consequences which will inevitably follow from a PATENT for Coining Half Pence and Farthings to be Uttered in this Kingdom obtained under the Great Seal of *Great Britain* by one WILLIAM WOOD in a Clandestine and Unpresedented manner, and by a Grose Misrepresentation of the State of this Kingdom.

WE are most Humbly of Opinion, That the Diminution of Your MAJESTIES Revenue, the Ruin of our Trade and the Impoverishing of Your People, must unavoidably attend this Undertaking, and We beg leave to Observe to Your MAJESTY, That from the most exact Enquiries and Computations We have been able to make, it Appears to Us, That the Gain to WILLIAM WOOD will be excessive, and the Loss to this Kingdom by Circulating this Base Coine greater than this poor Country is able to bear.

WITH the greatest Submission and Deference to Your MAJESTY's Wisdom, We Beg We may Offer it as Our Humble Opinion, That the Reserving the Coining of Half Pence and Farthings to the Crown, and the not Intrusting it with any Private Person, Body Politick, or Corporate, will always be for Your MAJESTY's Service, and the Good of Your People in this Kingdom.

IN Confidence, SIR, of Your Paternal Care of the Welfare of this Country, We beseech Your MAJESTY that You will be Pleased to Extend that Goodness and Compassion to Us which has so Eminently shew'd it self to all Your other Subjects, who have the Happiness to Live under Your Protection and Government, and that You will give such Directions as may Effectually Free Us from the Terrible Apprehensions We Labour Under from this PATENT Granted to WILLIAM WOOD.

2. *ADDRESS of the PRIVY COUNCIL of* IRELAND

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

The Humble ADDRESS of the Lords Justices And Privy Council of Ireland.

May it please your Majesty.

WE your Majesties most Dutifull and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Justices and Privy Council, most humbly Beg leave at this time to give an Instance of that Duty, which as upon all other Occasions, so more especially upon such as are of the greatest moment and importance, We hold our selves alwaies bound to pay to your Majesty.

YOUR Majesties Great Council, The High Court of Parliament being now prorogued, We Conceive our selves bound by the trust which your Majesty has been pleased to repose in us, and the Oaths we have taken, with all humility to lay before your Majesty, the present State of this Your Kingdom, with reference to a great Evil that appears to threaten it, To which if a speedy remedy be not applyed, the unavoidable Consequence, as we apprehend will be the Ruin of Multitudes of your Majesties Subjects together with the great Diminution of your Royal Revenue.

THE repeated Intelligence from Great Britain that William Wood still persists in his endeavours to Introduce his Copper Halfpence and farthings amongst us, has alarmed your faithfull subjects to such a degree as already to give a great Check to our inland Trade, and a certain Account is lately brought to us, that one of the said Wood's Factors has presumed to make a proposal to an Officer of your Majesties Revenue in this Kingdom to take off great Quantitys of his said Halfpence.

IF some effectual Course be not speedily taken to dispell the great fears which your Majesties People lye under, our Foreign Commerce also must in our humble Opinion soon be utterly destroyed.

It is found by Experience that We have already a sufficient Quantity of halfpence to serve by way of Change in the Retailing Trade; which we take to be the only use of them, And therefore since this your Majesties Kingdom is in no want of base Coin and the Importing and uttering more of it would manifestly be attended with most pernicious Consequences; and by the proposal that has been made to one of the Officers of Your Majesties Revenue, We have reason to believe that Wm Wood or his Factors will leave nothing in their Power unattempted whereby they may bring their Purpose to effect altho with the Ruin of this Your Majesties Kingdom, We look upon it as our Duty most humbly to beseech your Majesty to extend Your Royal Compassion to your subjects of this Land, by Causing your Royal pleasure to be signified to the Commissioners and Other Officers of Your Revenue, that they may do what in them Lyes for the allaying and Quieting the fears of your People.

Council Chamber Dublin
May the 20th, 1724.

Midleton
Shannon
Wm. Conolly
Edw. Tuam
Kildare
Meath
Abercorn
Mountjoy
Santry
Tullamore
Ralph Gore
Gust. Hume
Edw. Crofton
Oliver St George
R Tighe
Marm. Coghill

3. *ADDRESS of the COUNTY of* DUBLIN

At a General Session of the Peace, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and General Gaol Delivery, held in and for the County of *Dublin*, at *Kilmainham*, by Adjournment the Third Day of *September*, 1724.

WHEREAS it appear'd (upon the most Solemn Examination) to the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom in Parliament assembled; that *William Wood* by Notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland, hath in a Clandestine and unprecedented manner obtained his Majesties Letters patent, for Coining Copper tokens to be Uttered in this Kingdom, (and not elsewhere) as Halfpence and Farthings, to such Persons as are willing to receive the same.

AND Whereas by several Acts of Parliament passed in this Kingdom, the subsidies of Tonnage, and Poundage, the Excise or new Impost, Licence Money, Hearth Money, and additional Duties, and all Fines, Penalties and Forfeitures incurr'd by breach of the said Acts are required to be paid in Current and Lawful Money or Moneys of *England*, and by particular clauses in several Patents all Quit-rents, Crown rents, and Composition-rents are to be paid in Sterling Money, and likewise all Postage of Letters (by an English Act of Parliament) is to be paid in this Kingdom in Current and Lawful Money of *Great-Britain*, all which must necessarily render the receiving or Uttering the said Copper Tokens as Current Money destructive of the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom on which his Majesties Revenue in a great Measure depends and of dangerous Consequence to the properties of the Subject.

WE Therefore the High-Sherriff, Justices of the *Peace*, Grand Jury, Nobility, Clergy, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Dublin*, do hereby unanimously resolve and declare that we will not on any pretence whatsoever receive or utter any of the Copper Tokens or Halfpence and Farthings, already Coined, or which shall hereafter be Coined by the said *William Wood*, by vertue of the said Patent, except the same shall be first made Current and Lawful Money, of and in *England*.

172 Signatures follow.

APPENDIX C

REPORTS ON WOOD'S COINAGE AND the PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE DRAPIER

1. *REPORT of NEWTON'S* ASSAY of WOOD'S COINAGE

'A Coppy of the *Report* made by *Sir Isaac Newton, Edw Southwel*, and *John Scroope*, Esqs; of the *Assay* made of Mr. *Wood's Copper Money.*

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

May it please your Lordships,

ACCORDING to your Lordship's Order, the *Pix* of the *Copper Money* coined at *Bristol* by Mr. *Wood* for *Ireland*, has been opened, and tryed before us, at his Majesty's Mint in the Tower: And, *by the Comptrolers Account*, to which Mr. *Wood* agreed, there has been coined *from Lady-day*, 1723. *to March*, 28th. 1724. in Halfpence, 55 Tuns, 5 Hundred, 3 Quarters, and 12 Ounces, and in Farthings 3 Tuns, 17 Hundred, 2 Quarters, 10 Pounds, 8 Ounces, Averdupois; *the whole Coinage amounting to* 59 *Tuns*, 3 *Hundred*, 1 *Quarter*, 11 *Pounds, and* 4 *Ounces*. And by Specimens of this Coinage, which have from time to time been taken from several Parcels coined, and sealed up in Papers, and put into the *Pix*; we found, that 60 *Halfpence* weighed 14 Ounces Troy, and 18 Penny weight, which is about a quarter of an Ounce, above 1 Pound weight Averdupois, and that 30 Farthings weighed 3 Ounces, and 3 quarters of an Ounce Troy, and 46 Grains, which is also above the weight required by his Patent. We found also, that both *Halfpence* and *Farthings*, when heated red hot, spread thin under the Hammer without Cracking, as your Lordships may see by the pieces now laid before your Lordships. But altho the Copper was very good, and the Money one piece with another was full weight, yet the single pieces were not so equally coined, in the weight, as they shou'd have been.

WE found also, that 32 old Halfpence coined for *Ireland*, in the Reigns of King *Charles* 2d. King *James* 2. and King *William* 3. and Queen *Mary*, *and produced by* Mr. *Wood*, weighed 6 Ounces

and 8 Penny weight Troy, that is 103 Grains and an half a piece one with another. They were much worn, and if about 6 or 7 Grains be allowed to each of them, one with another, for loss of their weight by wearing, the Copper Money coined for *England*, in the Reign of King *William*, being already as much lightened by wearing, they might at first weigh about half a Pound Averdupois, whereas 30 of those coined by Mr. *Wood*, are to be of that weight, They were also made of bad Copper. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *Charles* 2d. wasted much in the Fire, and then spread thin under the Hammer, but not so well without cracking as those of Mr. *Wood*. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *James* 2d. wasted more in the Fire, and were not malleable when red hot. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, wasted still more in the Fire, and turn'd to an unmalleable Substance, like a Cinder; as your Lordships may see by the Pieces now laid before you.

By the *Assays* we reckon the Copper of Mr. *Wood*'s Halfpence and Farthings to be of the same goodness, and value, with the Copper, of which the Copper Money is coined in the King's Mint for *England*, worth in the Market, about 12 or 13 d. per Pound weight Averdupois. And the Copper of which the Halfpence were coined for *Ireland*, in the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James*, and King *William*, to be much inferior in value, the mixture being unknown, and not bearing the Fire, for converting it to any other use, until it be refined.

The *Halfpence* and *Farthings* in the *Pix*, coined by Mr. *Wood*, had on one side, the Head of the King, with this Inscription *GEORGIUS DEI GRATIA REX*, and on the other Side, a Woman Sitting, *with a Harp by her left Side*, and above her, this Inscription, *HIBERNIA*, *with the Date*. The *Halfpence* coined in the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James*, and King *William*, had, on one Side, the Head of King *Charles*, King *James*, or King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and on the Reverse, a Harp crowned.

All which Facts we most humbly Represent to your Lordships. *April*, 27*th*. 1724.'

2. Report from *The Postboy*, Dublin, July 31, 1724

LONDON, *July* 25.

YESTERDAY the Committee of Council met at the Cockpit, and had under their Consideration the Objections made against the Patent granted by his Majesty to Mr. Wood for Coining Half pence & Farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland, when several Merchants and others of an(d) Trading to Ireland, were Examin'd, who all Agreed, that there was the utmost Necessity for Copper Money before the granting of Mr. Wood's Patent; so that some Gentlemen who employ hundreds of the Poor there, were forc'd to tally with their Workmen, and give them Bits of Cards with their Seal on one Side, and their Names on the other, After this, pursuant to an Order of the Committee of Council held at the Cockpit on the 10th April last, Sir Isaac Newton's Report of an ASSAY taken at the Tower by a Jury of Pix, was Read, by which it appear'd that Mr. Wood had in all Respects perform'd his Contract. Nevertheless, the Patentee, for preventing any Future Objections, or Apprehensions, voluntary proposes:

First, that whereas he has already Coined 17000*l Worth, and has Copper prepar'd to make it up* 40000 *l. he will be content to Coin no more, unless the Exigencies of Trade require it, tho' his Patent empowers him to Coin a far greater Quantity*. Or,

Secondly, To deliver it at Bristol at 2*s.* 1*d. per Pound Averdupoiz*; Or,

Thirdly, To deliver the Copper in Fillets, rolled and prepared for Cutting, at 1*s.* 8*d. per Pound*; Or,

Lastly, In Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will, by such Coinage, drain them of their Gold and Silver, he proposes to take their Manufactures in Exchange; and that no Person be obliged to receive more than Five Pence Halfpenny at one Payment.

WE hear, that by Order of the Council, the whole Affair will be Reported to his Majesty, so that we may expect to know more of it hereafter.

N.B. No Evidence appear'd from Ireland or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complain'd of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant,

(*The Printer of this Paper leaves the Intention of the above Paragraph to the serious Consideration of every True Well-Wisher to Ireland.*).

3. Report of the *Privy Council Committee*

The REPORT of the COMMITTEE of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, in relation to Mr. WOOD'S Half-Pence and Farthings, &c.

At the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, the 24th Day of *July*, 1724.

IN Obedience to your Majesty's Order of Reference, upon the several Resolutions and Addresses of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland, during their late Session, the late Address of your Majesty's Justices, and Privy Council of that Kingdom, and the Petitions of the County and City of *Dublin*, concerning a Patent granted by your Majesty to *William Wood* Esq; for the Coining and Uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in the Kingdom of Ireland, to such Persons as would voluntarily accept the same; and upon the Petition of the said William Wood, concerning the same Coinage, the Lords of the Committee have taken into their Consideration the said Patent, Addresses, Petitions, and all Matters and Papers relating thereto, and have heard and examined all such Persons, as upon due and sufficient Notice, were desirous and willing to be heard upon the Subject Matter under their Consideration, and have agreed upon the following Report, containing a true State of the whole Matter, as it appeared before them, with their humble Opinion, to be laid before your Majesty for your Royal Consideration and Determination, upon a Matter of such Importance.

THE several Addresses to your Majesty from your Subjects of Ireland, contain in general Terms the strongest Representations of the great Apprehensions they were under, from the Importing and Uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in Ireland, by Virtue of the Patent granted to Mr. Wood, which they conceived would prove highly prejudicial to your Majesty's Revenue, destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject. They

represent, That the Patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented Manner, and by Notorious Misrepresentations of the State of Ireland; That if the Terms of the Patent had been complied with, this Coinage would have been of infinite Loss to the Kingdom, but that the Patentee, under Colour of the Powers granted to him, had Imported and endeavoured to Utter great Quantities of different Impressions, and of less Weight, than required by the Patent, and had been guilty of notorious Frauds and Deceit in Coining the said Copper-Money: And they humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would give such Directions, as in your great Wisdom you should think proper, to prevent the fatal Effects of Uttering any Half-pence or Farthings by Virtue of the said Patent: And the House of Commons of Ireland, in a second Address upon this Subject, Pray, That your Majesty would be pleased to give Directions to the several Officers intrusted (*orig.* concerned) in the Receipt of your Majesty's Revenue, That they do not on any Pretence whatever, receive or utter any of the said Copper Half-pence or Farthings.

In Answer to the Addresses of the Houses of Parliament of Ireland, your Majesty was most Graciously pleased to assure them, 'That if any Abuses had been committed by the Patentee, You would give the necessary Orders for Enquiring into and punishing those Abuses; and that your Majesty would do every thing, *that was in your Power*, for the Satisfaction of your people.'

In pursuance of this your Majesty's most Gracious Declaration, your Majesty was pleased to take this Matter into your Royal Consideration; and that you might be the better Enabled effectually to answer the Expectations of your People of Ireland, your Majesty was pleased by a Letter from Lord Carteret, one of your principal Secretaries of State, Dated March 10, 1723–4, to Signify your pleasure to your Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 'That he should give Directions for sending over such Papers and Witnesses as should be thought proper to support the Objections made against the Patent, and against the Patentee, in the Execution of the powers given him by the Patent.'

Upon the Receipt of these your Majesty's Orders, the Lord Lieutenant, by his Letter of the 20th of March, 1723–4, represented the great Difficulty he found himself under, to comply

with these your Majesty's Orders; and by another Letter of the 24th of March, 1723–4, 'after consulting the principal Members of both Houses, who were immediately in your Majesty's Service, and of the Privy Council,' acquainted your Majesty, 'That none of them would take upon them to advise, how any material Persons or Papers might be sent over on this Occasion, but they all seem'd apprehensive of the ill Temper *any Miscarriage*, in a Tryal, upon *Scire Facias* brought against the Patentee, might occasion in both Houses, if the Evidence were not laid as full before a Jury, as it was before them,' and did therefore, a second time, decline sending over any Persons, Papers or Materials whatsoever, to support this Charge brought against your Majesty's Patent and the Patentee.

As this Proceeding seem'd very extraordinary that, in a Matter that had raised so great and universal a Clamour in Ireland, no one Person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland, in support of the United Sence of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland; That no Papers, no Materials, no Evidence whatsoever of the Mischiefs arising from this Patent, or of the notorious Frauds and Deceit committed in the Execution of it, could now be had, to give your Majesty Satisfaction herein; 'your Majesty however, desirous to give your People of Ireland all possible Satisfaction, but sensible that you cannot in any Case proceed against any of the meanest of your Subjects, but according to the known Rules and Maxims of Law and Justice,' repeated your Orders to your Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that by perswasion, and making proper Allowances for their Expences, new Endeavours might be used to procure and send over such Witnesses as should be thought Material to make good the Charge against the Patent.

In Answer to these Orders, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland acquaints your Majesty, by his Letter of the 23rd of *April* to one of your principal Secretaries of State, 'That in Order to obey your Majesty's commands as far as possibly he could, at a Meeting with my *Lord Chancellor, the Chief Judges, your Majesty's Attorney and Sollicitor General*, he had earnestly desired their Advice and Assistance, to enable him to send over such Witnesses as might be necessary to support the charge against Mr. *Wood's*

Patent, and the Execution of it:' The Result of this Meeting was such, that the Lord Lieutenant could not reap the least Advantage or Assistance from it, every one being so guarded with caution, against giving any Advice or Opinion in this Matter of State, apprehending great Danger to themselves from meddling in it.

THE Lords of the Committee think it very strange, that there should be such great Difficulty in prevailing with persons, who had already given their Evidence before the Parliament of *Ireland*, to come over and give the same Evidence here, and especially, that the chief Difficulty should arise, from a *general Apprehension of a Miscarriage*, in an Enquiry before your Majesty, or in a proceeding by due Course of Law, in a Case, where both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most solemn Manner.

AT the same time that your Majesty sent your Orders to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to send over such Evidences as were thought Material to support the Charge against the Patent, that your Majesty might, without any further loss of Time than was absolutely necessary, be as fully informed as was possible, and that the Abuses and Frauds alledged to be committed by the Patentee, in executing the powers granted to him, might be fully and strictly enquired into, and examined, your Majesty was pleased to order that an Assay should be made of the Fineness, Value, and Weight of this Copper Money, and the Goodness thereof, compared with the former Coinages of Copper Money for Ireland, and the Copper Money coined in your Majesty's Mint in England; and it was accordingly referred to Sir Isaac Newton, Edward Southwell, and John Scrope, Esqs. to make the said Assay and Tryal.

BY the *Reports* made of this Assay, which are hereunto annexed, it appears, 'That the *Pix* of the Copper Monies coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the Tryal pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the Time of Coining, was opened at your Majesty's Mint at the Tower; that the Comptroller's Account of the Quantities of Half-pence and Farthings coined, agreed with Mr. Wood's Account, amounting to 59

Tons, 3 Hundred, 1 Quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 Ounces; That by the Specimens of this Coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the several parcels coin'd, and sealed up in Papers, and put into the *Pix*, 60 Half-pence weighed 14 Ounces Troy, and 18 Penny Weight, which is about a quarter of an Ounce above one Pound Weight Averdupois; and 30 Farthings weighed 3 Ounces and 3 quarters of an Ounce Troy, and 46 Grains, which is also above the Weight required by the Patent. It also appears, that both Half-pence and Farthings when heated red hot spread thin under the Hammer without cracking; that the Copper of which Mr. Wood's Coinage is made, is of the same Goodness and Value with the Copper of which the Copper Money is coined in your Majesty's Mint for England, and worth in the Market about 13 Pence Per Pound Weight Averdupois; That a pound of Copper wrought into Bars or Fillets, and made fit for Coinage, before brought into the Mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18 Pence per Pound, and always cost as much, and is coined into 23 Pence of Copper Money by Tale, for England; It likewise appears, that the Half-pence and Farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the Copper Money coined for Ireland, in the Reigns of King Charles II. King James II. and King William and Queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in Weight, very far exceeds them all in Goodness, Fineness, and Value of the Copper, none of them bearing the Fire so well, not being maleable, wasting very much in the Fire, and great part of them burning into a Cinder of little or no Value at all;' Specimens of all which, as likewise of Mr. Wood's Copper Money, upon Tryals and Assays made by Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scrope, were laid before this Committee for their Information.

THE Lords of the Committee beg leave upon this Article of the Complaint, That notorious Frauds and Deceits had been committed by the Patentee, in executing the Powers granted him, to observe to your Majesty, That this is a Fact expresly charged upon the Patentee, and if it had in any Manner been proved, it might have enabled your Majesty, by due Course of Law, to have given the Satisfaction to your People of Ireland, that has been so much insisted upon; but as it is now *above four*

Months since your Majesty was pleased to send over to Ireland for such Evidence, as might prove a Fact alledged to be so notorious, and no Evidence at all has been as yet transmitted, nor the least expectation given of any that may hereafter be obtained, and the Tryals and Assays that have been taken of the Half-pence and Farthings coined by Mr. Wood proving so unquestionably the Weight, Goodness and Fineness of the Copper Money coined, rather exceeding the conditions of the Patent, than being any way defective, the Lords of the Committee cannot advise your Majesty, by a Writ of *Scire Facias*, or any other Manner to endeavour vacating the said Patent, when there is no Probability of success in such an Undertaking.

As these Tryals and Assays fully shew that the Patentee hath acted fairly according to the Terms and Conditions of his Patent, so they evidently prove, that the Care and Caution made use of in this Patent, by proper Conditions, Checks, and Comptroles, have effectually provided, that the Copper-Money coined for Ireland by virtue of this Patent, should far exceed the like Coinages for Ireland, in the Reigns of your Majesty's Royal Predecessors.

And that your Majesty's Royal Predecessors have exercised this undoubted Prerogative of granting to private Persons the Power and Privilege of coining Copper Half-Pence and Farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland, was proved to this Committee by several Precedents of such Patents granted to private Persons by King Charles II. and King James II. none of which were equally beneficial to your Kingdom of Ireland, nor so well guarded with proper Covenants and Conditions for the due Execution of the Powers thereby granted, altho' the Power and Validity of those Patents, and a due Compliance with them, was never in any one Instance, till this time, disputed or controverted.

By these former Patents, the sole Power of coining Copper Money for Ireland, was granted to the Patentees for the Term of 21 *Years*, to be coined in such Place as they should think convenient, and *such Quantities as they could conveniently issue within the Term of* 21 *Years*, without any Restriction of the Quantity to be coined within the whole Term, or any provision of a cer-

tain Quantity, only to be coined annually to prevent the ill Consequences of too great a Quantity to be poured in at once, at the Will and pleasure of the Patentees; no provision was made for the Goodness and Fineness of the Copper, no Comptroler appointed to Inspect the Copper in Bars and Fillets, before coined, and take constant Assays of the Money when coined, and the power of issuing not limited *to such as would voluntarily accept the same*; but by the Patent granted to *John Knox*, the Money coined by Virtue of that Patent, *is made and declared to be the current Coin of the Kingdom of* Ireland, and a pound Weight of Copper was allowed to be coined into 2 *Shillings and* 8 *Pence*, and whatever Quantity should be coined, a Rent of 16 *l. per Annum* only was reserved to the Crown, and 700 Tons of Copper were computed to be coined within the 21 Years, without any Complaint.

THE Term granted to Mr. Wood for coining Copper Money is for 14 *Years* only, the Quantity for the whole Term limited to 360 *Tons*, 100 Ton only to be issued within one year, and 20 Tons each Year for the 13 remaining Years; a Comptroller is appointed by the Authority of the Crown to Inspect, Comptrole, and Assay the Copper, as well not coined as coined; the Copper to be fine British Copper, cast into Bars or Fillets, which when heated red hot would spread thin under the Hammer; a Pound Weight of Copper to be coined into 2 *Shillings and Six-pence, and without any Compulsion or Currency inforced, to be receiv'd by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same*; a Rent of 800 *l. per Annum*[1] is reserved unto your Majesty, and 200 *l. per Annum* to your Majesty's Clerk Comptroller, to be paid annually by the Patentee, for the full Term of the 14 Years, which for 13 Years when 20 Tons of Copper only are coined, is not inconsiderable; these great and essential Differences in the several Patents, that have been granted for coining Copper Money for the Kingdom of Ireland, seemed sufficiently to justify the care and caution that was used in granting the Letters Patent to Mr. Wood.

IT has been further represented to your Majesty, That these Letters Patent were obtain'd by Mr. Wood in a clandestine and unprecedent Manner, and by gross Misrepresentations of the

[1] Original report has correctly '100 *l. per Annum*'.

State of the Kingdom of Ireland. Upon enquiring into this Fact it appears, That the Petition of Mr. Wood for obtaining this Coinage, was presented to your Majesty at the Time that several other Petitions and Applications were made to your Majesty, for the same Purpose, by sundry Persons, well acquainted and conversant with the Affairs of Ireland, setting forth the great want of small Money and Change in all the common and lower Parts of Traffick, and Business throughout the Kingdom, and the Terms of Mr. Wood's Petition seeming to your Majesty most reasonable, thereupon a Draught of a Warrant directing a Grant of such Coinage to be made to Mr. Wood, was referr'd to your Majesty's then Attorney and Solicitor General of England, to Consider and Report their Opinion to your Majesty; Sir Isaac Newton, as the Committee is informed was Consulted in all the Steps of settling and adjusting the Terms and Conditions of the Patent; and after mature deliberation, your Majesty's Warrant was sign'd, directing an Indenture in such Manner as is practised in your Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London, for the coining of Gold and Silver Monies, to pass the great Seal of Great Britain, which was carried through all the usual Forms and Offices without Haste or Precipitation, That the Committee cannot discover the least pretence to say, this Patent was pass'd or obtained in a clandestine or unprecedented Manner, unless it is to be understood, that your Majesty's granting a Liberty of Coining Copper Money for Ireland, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, without referring the Consideration thereof to the principal Officers of Ireland is the Grievance and Mischief complained of. Upon this Head it must be admitted, that Letters Patents *under the Great Seal of Great Britain for coining Copper Money for Ireland*, are Legal and Obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of your Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory, or invasive, of any Liberties or Privileges of your Subjects of Ireland. When any Matter or Thing is Transacting that concerns or may Affect your Kingdom of Ireland, if your Majesty has any Doubts concerning the same, or sees just Cause for considering your Offices of Ireland, your Majesty is frequently pleased to refer such Considerations to your chief Governours of Ireland,[1] but the Lords of the Committee hope

it will not be asserted, that any legal Orders or Resolutions of your Majesty can or ought to be called in Question or invalidated, because the Advice or Consent of your chief Governours of that Kingdom was not previously had upon them:[1] The Precedents are many, wherein Cases of great Importance to Ireland, and that immediately affected, the Interests of that Kingdom, Warrants, Orders, and Directions, by the Authority of your Majesty and your Royal Predecessors, have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference, or Advice of your Officers of Ireland, which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually complied with and obeyed. And as it cannot be disputed but this Patent might legally and properly pass under the Great Seal of Great Britain, so their Lordships cannot find any Precedents of References to the Officers of Ireland, of what passed under the Great Seal of England; on the contrary, there are Precedents of Patents passed under the Great Seal of Ireland, where in all the previous Steps the References were made to the Officers of England.[2]

By the Misrepresentation of the State of Ireland, in order to obtain this Patent, it is presumed, is meant, That the Information given to your Majesty of the great want of small Money, to make small Payments, was groundless, and that there is no such want of small Money: The Lords of the Committee enquired very particularly into this Article, and Mr. Wood produced several Witnesses,[3] that directly asserted the great want of small Money

[1] Originally thus: 'which gracious Condescension in Your Majesty, cannot be supposed to import, that their Advice or Consent is at all necessary or essential upon any point, where Your Majesty is pleased to consult them, no more than their Dissent or dislike can tend to invalidate or call in question any legal orders or Resolutions of Your Majesty.'

[2] Originally continued: 'which was the Case in the Patent granted to John Knox above mentioned, the Consideration of which was referr'd to the Attorney and Solicitor General of England.'

[3] Originally inserted after *Mr. Wood produced several Witnesses*, '(though with great reason he complained of the Difficulty he found of prevayling with any body of that Kingdom to appear and give Evidence contrary to the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament,)'

for Change, and the great Damage that Retailers and Manufactures suffered for want of such Copper Money. Evidence was given, That considerable Manufacturers have been obliged to give Tallies, or Tokens in Cards, to their Workmen for want of small Money, signed upon the Back, to be afterwards exchanged for larger Money: That a Premium was often given to obtain small Money for necessary Occasions: Several Letters from Ireland to Correspondents in England were read, complaining of the want of Copper Money, and expressing the great Demand there was for this Money.

THE great want of small Money was further proved by the common Use of *Raps*, a counterfeit Coin, of such base Mettal, that what passes for a Half-Penny, is not worth half a Farthing, which *Raps* appeared to have obtained a Currency, out of Necessity and for want of better small Money to make Change with, and by the best Accounts, the Lords of the Committee have Reason to believe, That there can be no doubt, that there is a real want of small Money in Ireland, which seems to be so far admitted on all Hands, that there does not appear to have been any Misrepresentation of the State of Ireland in this Respect.

IN the second Address from the House of Commons to your Majesty, They most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give Directions to the several Officers intrusted with the Receipt of your Majesty's Revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatsoever, receive or utter such Half-Pence or Farthings, and Mr. Wood, in his Petition to your Majesty, Complains, that the Officers of your Majesty's Revenue had already given such Orders to all the inferior Officers not to receive any of this Coin.

[1]YOUR Majesty, by your Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, Wills, Requires and Commands your 'Lieutenant, Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours of your Kingdom of Ireland, and all *other Officers and Ministers of your Majesty*, your Heirs and Successors in England, Ireland or elsewhere, *to*

[1] The beginning of this paragraph was originally: 'This proceeding of the Officers of the Revenue of Ireland, seems indeed very extraordinary.'

be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood, his Executors, &c. in the Execution of all or any the Powers, Authorities, Directions, Matters or Things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their Benefit and Advantage, by Virtue, and in Pursuance of the said Indentures, in all Things as becometh, &c. [1]And if the Officers of the Revenue have, upon their own Authority, given any Orders, Directions, Significations, or Intimations, to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering the Copper Money coined and imported, pursuant to your Majesty's Letters Patent, this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding.

In another Paragraph of the Patent your Majesty has covenanted and granted unto the said William Wood, his Executors, &c. 'That upon performance of Covenants, on his and their Parts, he and they shall peaceably, and quietly, have, hold, and enjoy all the Powers, Authorities, Privileges, Licences, Profits, Advantages, and all other Matters and Things thereby granted, *without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation or Denial of your Majesty, your Heirs or Successors, or of, or by any of your or their Officers or Ministers, or any Person or Persons.* &c.' This being so expresly granted and covenanted by your Majesty, and there appearing no Failure, Non-Performance, or Breach of Covenants, on the Part of the Patentee, the Lords of the Committee cannot advise your Majesty[2] to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue, not to receive or utter any of the said Copper Half-Pence or Farthings as has been desired.

Mr. Wood having been heard by this Council, produced his several Witnesses, all the Papers and Precedents, which he thought Material, having been read and considered, and having

[1] To end of paragraph, originally thus: 'And the Officers of the Revenue presume upon their own Authority in defiance of Your Majestys Commands and Directions, thus expressly, and Authoritatively given to prohibit the receiving and uttering the Copper money coined and imported Pursuant to Your Majestys Letters Patent.'

[2] Originally thus: after *advise Your Majesty*—'to comply with the request of the House of Commons, by giving such Directions to the Officers of the Revenue as is desired in their Address'.

as he conceived, fully vindicated both the Patent, and the Execution thereof. For his further Justification, and to clear himself from the Imputation of attempting to make to himself any unreasonable Profit or Advantage, and to enrich himself at the Expence of the Kingdom of Ireland, by endeavouring to impose upon them, and utter a greater Quantity of Copper Money, than the necessary Occasions of the People shall require, and can easily take off, delivered a Proposal in Writing, signed by himself, which is hereunto annexed, and Mr. Wood having by the said Letters Patent, 'covenanted, granted, and promised to, and with your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors, that he shall and will from time to time in the making the said Copper Farthings and Half-pence in England, and in transporting the same from time to time to Ireland, and in uttering, vending, disposing and dispersing the same there, and in all his Doings and Accounts concerning the same, submit himself to the Inspection, Examination, order and Comptrol of your Majesty and your Commissioners of the Treasury or High Treasurer for the time being;' the Lords of the Committee are of Opinion, that your Majesty upon this Voluntary Offer and Proposal of Mr. Wood, may give proper Orders and Directions for the Execution and due Performance of such Parts of the said Proposal, as shall be judged most for the interest and Accommodation of your Subjects of Ireland: In the mean time, it not appearing to their Lordships that Mr. Wood has done or committed any Act or Deed, that may tend to invalidate, or make void his Letters Patent, or to forfeit the Privileges and Advantages thereby granted to him by your Majesty; It is but just and reasonable, that your Majesty should immediately send Orders to your Commissioners of the Revenue, and all other your Officers in Ireland, to revoke all Orders, Directions, Significations, or Intimations whatsoever, that may have been given by them, or any of them, to [1]hinder or obstruct[1] the receiving and uttering this Copper Money, and that the Half-Pence and Farthings already coined by Mr. Wood, amounting to about 17000 l. and such further Quantity as shall make up the said 17000 l. to 40000 l. 'be suffered and permitted

[1] Instead of *hinder or obstruct* originally *prohibit and forbid.*

without any Lett, Suit, Trouble, Molestation, or Denial of any of your Majesty's Officers or Ministers whatsoever, to Pass, and be received as Current Money by such as shall be willing to receive the same.' At the same time, it may be adviseable for your Majesty, to give the proper Orders, that Mr. Wood shall not Coin, Import into Ireland, utter or dispose of any more Copper Half-Pence or Farthings, than to the amount of 40000 l. according to his own Proposal, without your Majesty's special Licence or Authority, to be had for that Purpose; and if your Majesty shall be pleased to Order, that Mr. Wood's Proposal, delivered to the Lords of the Committee, shall be transmitted to your Majesty's Chief Governour, Deputies, or other your Ministers, or Officers in Ireland, it will give them a proper Opportunity to consider,[1] Whether, after the Reduction of 360 Tons of Copper, being in Value 108000 l. to 142 Tons, 17 Hundred, 16 Pounds being in Value 40,000 l. only, any thing can be done for the further Satisfaction of the People of Ireland.

[1] Originally thus: after *a proper opportunity to consider*—'which of the said Proposals (besides the reduction of 360 Tons of Copper, to the value of £40,000 which Your Majesty may be pleased immediately to Order, Mr Wood having voluntarily offered to submit to such a restrictoin,) may tend most to the ease and satisfaction of the People of Ireland, that proper Measures may be taken thereupon.'

4. PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE DRAPIER

By The Lord Lieutentant and Council Of IRELAND, A PROCLAMATION.

CARTERET.

WHEREAS a Wicked and Malicious Pamphlet, Intituled, *A Letter to the whole People of* Ireland, *by* M. B. *Drapier*, *Author of the Letter to the Shopkeepers*, &c. Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth*'s-*Court* in *Fishamble-street*, *Dublin*, in which are contained several Seditious and Scandalous Paragraphs highly Reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministers, tending to Alienate the Affections of His Good Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* from each other, and to promote Sedition among the People, hath been lately Printed and Published in this Kingdom.

WE the Lord Lieutenant and Council do hereby Publish and Declare, That in Order to Discover the Author of the said Seditious Pamphlet, We will give the necessary Orders for the Payment of Three Hundred Pounds *Sterling* to such Person or Persons as shall within the Space of Six Months from the Date hereof Discover the Author of the said Pamphlet, so as he be Apprehended and Convicted thereof.

Given at the *Council-Chamber* in *Dublin* this Twenty Seventh Day of *October*, 1724.

Midleton Canc. *Shannon*, *Doneraile*, *G. Forbes*, *H. Meath*, *Santry*, *Tyrawly*, *Ferrard*, *W^m^. Conolly*, *Ralph Gore*, *Wm. Whitshed*, *B. Hale*, *Gust. Hume*, *Ben. Parry*, *James Tynte*, R. *Tighe*, T. *Clutterbuck*.

God Save the King.

TEXTUAL NOTES*

THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS

Besides the original Irish editions of the first five Letters, which will be noted below, the Drapier's Letters were printed during Swift's lifetime in the following collected editions:

I. FRAUD DETECTED: or, The *Hibernian* Patriot. Containing, All the *Drapier*'s Letters to the People of *Ireland*, on *Wood*'s Coinage, &c. *Dublin*: Re-printed and Sold by *George Faulkner* in *Pembroke-Court*, *Castle-street*, 1725. [25]

II. THE HIBERNIAN PATRIOT: Being a Collection of the Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland, concerning Mr. *Wood*'s Brass Half-Pence, &c. Printed at *Dublin*. *London*: Reprinted and Sold by A. Moor in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, and the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*, MDCCXXX. [30]

III. VOLUME IV. Of the Author's Works. Containing, A Collection of Tracts relating to *Ireland*; among which are, The *Drapier*'s *Letters* to the People of *Ireland*, against receiving *Wood*'s Half-pence: Also, two Original *Drapier*'s *Letters*, never before published. *Dublin*: Printed by and for George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, in *Essex-street*, opposite to the Bridge. MDCCXXXV. [35]

IV. MISCELLANIES, in Prose and Verse. Volume the Fifth. Which with the other Volumes already published in *England*, compleats this Author's Works, *London*: Printed for Charles Davis, in *Pater-noster Row*. MDCCXXXV. [D]

The complete series of the Drapier's Letters, seven in number, written by Swift in 1724–25, was printed for the first time together in the fourth volume of Swift's *Works*, published by Faulkner in 1735. In this volume, the text of the first five letters, together with *Seasonable Advice*, and *An Extract*, was printed from the last collected edition, *The Hibernian Patriot*, London, 1730, with corrections, alterations and omissions, which show clearly enough the hand of Swift himself; and the manuscript of the last two letters, which had been put away by Swift, unprinted, must have been given to Faulkner, together with hints for, if not the actual text of the *Advertisement*, which forms a preface to the volume, and is here reprinted in Appendix A. The explanatory footnotes, reprinted in this edition, were also first provided in Faulkner's edition. They were therefore authorized, if not written, by Swift himself.

The present text is therefore printed from this edition, which has been collated with the original editions of the first five letters printed in 1724 by John Harding, and the collected editions of 1725 and 1730. Differences in spelling, capitalization and punctuation, except where the sense is altered, are not noted; but all other variants are given below. Some errors, introduced in the course of reprinting, which appear in Faulkner's text, are corrected by restoring the readings of the first editions; but these are clearly shown in the following collations.

LETTER I

First Octavo Edition, Dublin, March, 1724. See Facsimile of title-page, p. 1. This is almost certainly the edition of about 2000 copies referred to by Swift in his letter of April 2, 1724. (*The Letters of Swift to Ford*, ed. David Nichol Smith, Oxford 1935, p. 106.) Single copies exist of a folio and quarto printing, but

* For further bibliographical details, see *The Drapier's Letters*, edited by Herbert Davis, Oxford, 1935.

these may have been only trial issues. (See *The Publication of the First Drapier Letter* by Lord Rothschild: The Library, Ser. 4 xix, 107–115.) Two other octavo editions were printed by Harding during the summer of 1724.

Page	Line	PRESENT TEXT	VARIANTS
3	1	*Shop-Keepers, Tradesmen*	*Tradesmen, Shop-Keepers*, 24, 25, 30
	2	*Country-People*	*Common-People* 24, 25, 30
	21	four	three 24
	24	Person whatsoever	*Man* 24, 25, 30
	30	to be fined and imprisoned	*Loss of money* 24, 25, 30
4	13	WOOD	WOODS 24 (*and throughout this Letter*)
	15	108000 *l.*	Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds 24, 25, 30
	20	lose much above	lose above 24, 25, 30
	23	would hardly give	would not give 24, 25, 30
	24	108000 *l.*	*Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds* 24, 25, 30
	28	*another* 108000 *l.*	*another and another Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds* 24, 25, 30
5	8	would tell	could tell 24, 25, 30
	27	*those*	*these* 24
6	23	is	are 24, 25
	26	*Pounds*	*Pound* 24
	27	Pounds	Pound 24, 25, 30
	30	Horses	Horse 24
	3*f.b.*	loaded	loaden 24
7	1	SQUIRE CONOLLY	'SQUIRE C . . . Y 24, 25
	3	*Fifty*	Forty 24
	26	108000 *l.*	Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds 24, 25, 30
8	2	*Cottagers*	*Cottiers* 24, 25, 30
	3	*Country* 24, 25	*Countrey* 30, 35
	7	to send	or send 24
	8*f.b.*	a-new	a New 24, 25
	32	Thousandth	Thousand 24, 25
	3*f.b.*	this	thus 24
9	4	*Charters*	*Articles* 24, 25, 30
	6	*or* Impair	Impair *or* Amend 24, 25, 30
	11	Laws	Law 24
	12	the several 24	and several 25 several 30, 35
10	3	evident	most evident 24 more evident 25, 30
	4	whereby	by which 24, 25, 30
	9	*Words*	*Word* 24, 25
	10	*is*	*are* 24, 25
	14	*Vessels, or*	*Vessel, nor* 24 *Vessel, or* 25, 30
	21	*Metal.* And	*Metal*, and that 24, 25, 30
	21	further	farther 24
	4*f.b.*	such legal Power	such Power 24, 25, 30
	1*f.b.*	*Spain.* And,	*Spain*, and 24, 25, 30

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
11	10	not only . . ., but of	no not . . . or of 24 not only . . . or of 25, 30
	11	meerly	only 24, 25, 30
	14	I suppose	I will suppose 24, 25, 30
	15	we	you 24
	21	such	so 24, 25, 30
	26	poorer	poor 24, 25, 30
12	10	the King	*a King* 24, 25, 30
	18	made it their	made their 24, 25
	21	that all Families	all Persons 24, 25, 30

LETTER II

First printed in Dublin, on August 6, 1724. See Facsimile of title-page, p. 13. A second Dublin edition appeared in the same month, and another edition was printed in Limerick, with an Appendix, containing a declaration of the Dublin bankers, dated August 15.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
15	5	[*Omitted in* 30, 35]	Sir 24, 25
	17	*of Council*	*of a Council* 24, 25, 30
	22	prescribe	prescribes 24
	25	Ten	Seven 24, 25, 30
	27	Eight Thousand	Four Thousand 24, 25, 30
	29	*for*	*of* 24, 25, 30
	7*f.b.*	at half the Price that we are to take it.	at half Value 24, 25, 30
16	5	did, (and . . *mine*)	did, and . . *mine*. 24, 25
	12	*Wood's*	*Woods* his 24
	26	Six	but Six 24, 25, 30
19	18	with which we traffick	we deal with 24, 25, 30
20	2	on me	upon me 24, 25, 30
	12	one	a 24
	15	Year: Whereby	Year, whereof 24, 25, 30
	16	Losers	Loosers 24, 25, 30
	6*f.b.*	Sense	Sense and Opinion 24, 25, 30
	3*f.b.*	the whole House	the House 24, 25, 30
	1*f.b.*	Coining	Coyning of 24, 25, 30 Coining of 30
21	16	on *Wood*'s Coin?	in *Woods* his Coyn 24 in *Wood*'s Coyn 25
22	33	us to do?	us do? 24
23	23	attempted 24	attempt 30, 35
	30	*Eight Thousand*	*Fourty thousand* 24, 25, 30

LETTER III

First printed in Dublin, on September 5, 1724. See Facsimile of title-page, p. 25. This appears to have reached a fourth edition, corrected; but I have seen no copies of the second or third editions.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
27	27	Reflections	Remarks 24, 25, 30

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
	32	(*Omitted in* 35)	and Vindicate the Injured Reputation of 24, 25, 30
28	18	*Coke*	*Cook* 24, 25
	29	*this Subject*	*that Subject* 24, 25, 30
	30	B——	*Brown* 24, 25, 30
	7*f.b.*	was	were 24, 25, 30
	5*f.b.*	(*Omitted in* 35)	The second was Tryed for a R*ape*, and stands Recorded in the Votes of the House of Commons, for endeavouring by *Perjury* and *Subornation*, to take away the Life of *John Bingham*, Esq;
29	8	*Hamilton*	Hc (*Hamilton*) 24, 25, 30
	13	in a Pound Weight	In a Pound 24, 25, 30
30	20	should, upon all Demands, be obliged to	should at any Time 24, 25, 30
31	9	shine on 24	shine over 25, 30, 35
	5*f.b.*	a positive	positive 24
32	12	on many	in many 24, 25, 30
33	21	passeth now	passes 24; passed 25, 30
34	2	nor be	nor to be 24, 25, 30
	11	were	was 24, 25, 30
	17	be	is 24, 25, 30
34	21	address	addresses 24
	22	take	takes 24
	25	the passing 24	passing 25, 30, 35
36	8*f.b.*	*the*	*a* 24, 25, 30
37	29	B——	*Brown* 24, 25, 30
	5*f.b.*	(*Omitted in* 35)	The Second may be allowed a more *Knowing* Witness, because I think it is not above a Year since the House of Commons ordered the Attorney General to Prosecute him, for endeavouring *to take away the Life of* John Bingham *Esq; Member of Parliament by Perjury and Subornation.* He asserted that he was forced to Tally with his Labourers for want of Small Money (which hath often been practised in *England* by Sir *Ambrose Crawly* and others) but those who knew him better give a different reason, (if there be any Truth at all in the Fact) that he was forced to Tally with his Labourers not for want of Halfpence, but of *more Substantial Money*, which is highly possible, because the Race of *Suborners*, *Forgers*, *Perjurors* and *Ravishers*,

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
			are usually People of no Fortune, or of those who have Run it out by their Vices and Profuseness.
	4*f.b.*	one of the other Witnesses	the Third Witness 24, 25, 30
38	10	*Eight pence-Farthings,*	*Eight-pence-half-pennys,* 24
	12	by which	by all which 24, 25
			which 30
	14	are 24	were 25, 30, 35
	14	the Expedient	*Brown's* Expedient 24, 25, 30
	2*f.b.*	he did	it did 24, 25, 30
39	7*f.b.*	*and which*	*and that* 24, 25, 30
	6*f.b.*	*such as Warrants*	*Warrants* 24, 25, 30
40	11	human	Humane 24, 25, 30
41	2	bound	obliged 24
42	10	Kingdom	Kingdom: The Patentee was obliged to make every Half-penny One hundred and Ten Grains *Troy* weight, whereby 2s. 2d. only could be coyned out of a Pound of Copper.
	4*f.b.*	what he	what we 24
43	15	this Kingdom	the Kingdom 24, 25, 30
44	10	the *Patent*	this *Patent* 24, 25, 30
46	10	*to the*	*for the* 24, 25, 30
	19	*Exhortations* 24	*Exhortation* 30, 35
47	11	*County*	*Country* 24, 25, 30
	19	left	remaining 24, 25, 30
	21	can	can, and will leave the Remainder still to the Good 24, 25, 30
48	5*f.b.*	happen	happens 24, 25, 30
49	2	your Resolutions	your firm Resolutions 24
	16	[N.B. This footnote appears in the copies of the first issue with the cancel referred to below (P. 53, l. 6) and in later issues.]	

LETTER IV

First printed in Dublin, on October 22, 1724. See Facsimile of title-page, p. 51. A second corrected edition appeared with an Advertisement giving a list of errata.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
53	6	one Whitshed, then 35 B	*that infamous Wretch,* Whitshed, *the* 35 A
		[N.B. This footnote, as in 35A, was almost certainly written by Swift himself. But the leaf was cancelled and the note changed to read as in 35B.]	
	18	proceed	proceed 24, 25, 30
	8*f.b.*	(and certainly with a bad Design)	(and probably with no good Design) 24, 25, 30
54	2	Number 24	Numbers 25, 30, 35
55	1	those	these 24, 25, 30

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
56	19	pay	pays 24
57	4*f.b.*	their	the 24, 25, 30
	3*f.b.*	is 24, 25, 30	are 35
58	24	*in*	*of* 24, 25, 30
	30	9000 *l.*	8000 *l.* 24, 25, 30
	6*f.b.*	Jest	Test 24, 25, 30
59	7*f.b.*	was lately	hath been 24, 25, 30
	4*f.b.*	young Man	Young Noble Man 24, 25, 30
60	7	*were* 24	*are* 25, 30, 35
	12	*under Pain* 24	*under the Pain* 30, 35
	15	*Closeting*; it might	*Closeting.* It would 24, 25, 30
61	17	*Irishman*, at least upon *this one Article*	*Irish* Man, upon *this Article.* 24, 25, 30
63	22	to leave it	it lay 24; to lay it 25, 30
64	24	should	would 24, 25
65	9	*intended* 24	*intend* 30, 35
	26	*or*, 24	*and* 25, 30, 35
66	20	*to his own Place*	to his own Place 24, 25, 30
	22	which they	which probably they 24, 25, 30
	7*f.b.*	any	one 24, 25, 30
67	7	*Walpole*	W—— 24, 25, 30
	11	Walpole	W—— 24, 25, 30
	14	In another printed Paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole will cram his*	He orders it to be Printed in another Paper, that *Mr.* W—— *will cram this* 24, 25
	4*f.b.*	of *Wood*'s	of Mr. *Wood*'s 24, 25, 30
68	3	*Walpole*	W—— 24, 25, 30
	13	the Kingdom:	this kingdom 24, 25, 30
	24	*Walpole*	W—— 24, 25, 30

SEASONABLE ADVICE

First printed in Dublin as a Broadside without printer's name or place, and distributed on November 14, 1724.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
69	1	Seasonable Advice *to the Grand Jury, concerning the Bill preparing against the Printer of the preceding Letter.*	Seasonable Advice 24, 25
	6	(*Omitted in 35*)	before whom this *Bill* is to come 24, 25, 30
	13	grant	allow 24, 25, 30
	7*f.b.*	*just* Exception 24	a just Exception 25, 30, 35
70	7	Predecessors	*Predecessors* 24, 25 *Predecessore* 30 Predecessor 35
	15	*Depending* 24	*Dependent* 25, 30, 35
	16	of; which	of it, which 24, 25, 30
	1*f.b.*	they will do, and suffer	they will suffer 24, 25, 30

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
71	3	Advantage, by the	Advantage, the 24, 25, 30
	6	as it was	which was 24, 25, 30
	7	signed the Proclamation, to	signed to 24, 25, 30
	26	he continues	he now continues 24
	6*f.b.*	*Sheep*	*Shepherds* 24

AN EXTRACT ETC.

First printed on part of a sheet with no name, place or date, and distributed in Dublin on November 21, 1724.

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
73	7	out of 24, 25	of 30, 35
	23	herein	therein 24, 25, 30

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY

Folio, half-sheet, November 28, with the imprint: *DUBLIN*: Printed by *Pressic Rider* and *Thomas Harbin*, at the *General Post-Office* Printing-House in the *Exchange* on *Cork Hill*, 1724.

LETTER V

First printed in Dublin, on December 31, 1724. See Facsimile of title-page, p. 77. (N.B. Footnotes on pp. 81, 82, 83, 89 added in '35.)

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
79	18	*My Custom, therefore,* is	My Custom is 24, 25, 30
81	13	Chief Justice *Whitshed*	*Chief Justice* 24, 25, 30
	6*f.b.*	a second Danger	Danger 24, 25, 30
83	23	to you	you 24, 25, 30
84	6*f.b.*	outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own Heart, upon	readily submit, not insisting on 24, 25, 30
	5*f.b.*	Indeed	For indeed, 24, 25, 30
85	8*f.b.*	wherein I thought, and shall ever think	wherein as I thought 24, 25, 30
	1*f.b.*	that 24	this 25, 30, 35
86	20	a spiteful	some spiteful 24, 25, 30
	23	Reader; but still without recanting my own Opinion	Reader 24, 25, 30
87	5	and that 24	and 25, 30, 35
	26	(which I shall die rather than grant)	(which I shall never hereafter contest) 24, 25, 30
88	12	my faithful Friends the common People	the *Rabble* 24, 25, 30
	27	in Quarrels	in all Quarrels 24
89	25	Person	Writer 24, 25, 30
	26	my self; who had written a very seasonable and inoffensive Treatise, exhorting the People of this Kingdom to wear their own Manufactures;	where the *Printer*, who had the *Author* in his *Power* 24, 25, 30

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
	28	for which, however, the Printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence;	was prosecuted with the utmost zeal, 24, 25, 30
90	8	been very good	been Good 24, 25, 30
91	9–10	Consideration, and not presented; as arbitrary,	Consideration, and not presented, is Arbitrary 24, 25 Consideration, and not presented, as Arbitrary 30 Consideration; and not presented as arbitrary 35(A) Consideration; as arbitrary 35 (B)
92	1*f.b.*	that the king	the King 24
93	2	*barely possible*, that	most certain 24, 25, 30
	3	may	do 24, 25, 30
	5	perhaps	doubtless 24, 25, 30
	6	would, in common Humanity	are Persons of too much Honour and Justice not to 24, 25, 30
94	10	and my	and of my 24

LETTERS VI AND VII, ETC.

The remaining pieces were first printed in Swift's *Works*, Vol. IV, Dublin, 1735. The present text is taken from the second issue of this edition, and the following variants are noted from the first issue [A] and the *Miscellanies*, Vol. V, London, 1735. [D]

Page	Line	Present Text	Variants
97	17	procured a Copy of the following letter from one of the Author's Friends, with whom it was left while the Author was in *England*; and	(*Omitted in A*)
99	20	seen	received A, D
101	4	any other	another A, D
102	6	were	was A, D
103	22	Parsimony, that runs	Parsimony, runs A, D

APPENDIXES

A.

1. Extract from Harding's *Dublin News Letter*, April 21, 1724, printed from a mutilated copy (the only one I have found) in a collection of Dublin newspapers in 7 vols. fol. in the *Gilbert Collection*, Dublin.
2. *Another Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer*, printed from photostats of the copy in the British Museum.
3. *Two Letters to the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed*, printed from photostats of the copies in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
4. *Advertisement prefaced to Swift's Works, 1735, Vol. IV.* printed from my own copy of Faulkner's edition.

B.

1. *Addresses of the Irish Houses of Parliament in September 1723.*

   The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled. Dublin: printed by Samuel Fairbrother, printer (by order) to the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland, 1723

   Text taken from a photostat of the copy in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

   The Humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled. Dublin: printed by Andrew Crooke, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at the King's Arms in Copper-Alley, 1723.

   Text printed from a photostat of the copy in the British Museum.
2. *Address of the Privy Council of Ireland*, printed from copy in the Public Record Office (S.P. 63 vol. 383, no. 97).
3. *Address of the County of Dublin.* Text taken from a copy of the Dublin Gazette, Wednesday, October 14, 1724, in the Gilbert Collection, Dublin.

C.

1. *Report of Newton's Assay of Wood's Coinage.* This was printed in 1724 at the end of a pamphlet by David Bindon entitled *Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage*, pp. 27–8. The present text is taken from a copy of this pamphlet.
2. *Report from the Postboy, Dublin, July 31, 1724*, printed from a copy in the Gilbert Collection, Dublin.
3. *Report of the Privy Council Committee*, printed from the original report, dated July 24, 1724, which is in the Public Record Office (S.P. 63 vol. 384, no. 113), including the careful corrections, here printed as footnotes, made in this final draft.
4. *Proclamation against the Drapier*, printed from a copy in the Goldsmiths' Library of the University of London.

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